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SOCIAL QUESTIONS OF TO-DAY

EDITED BY H. DE B. GIBBINS, LITT.D., M.A.

LIFE IN WEST LONDON

SOCIAL QUESTIONS OF TO-DAY.

Edited by H. de B. GIBBINS, Litt.D., M.A.

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LIFE IN WEST LONDON

A STUDY AND A CONTRAST

BY

ARTHUR SHERWELL

JOINT AUTHOR OF "THE TEMPERANCE PROBLEM AND SOCIAL REFORM"

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LIFE IN WEST LONDON

A STUDY AND A CONTRAST

PART I—SOCIAL

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

It is probable that there is no district in London so comparatively unknown as that portion of West London which is comprised within the area of Soho, and the immediately surrounding district. Mr. Charles Booth, whose investigations in East and South London have been so thorough and exact, has, it is true, published some exceedingly important, and, indeed, invaluable information bearing on the social and industrial conditions of life in Central London, but his investigations, for the most part, are restricted to certain broadly-defined districts, and are therefore incomplete; while the scope of his enquiry prevented him from giving, at any time, more than a casual and indirect clue to the moral and religious conditions of the districts which he investigated. So far as the more intimate facts of its moral and social life are concerned, Soho remains to a very large extent a *terra incognita* to the outsider.

The district, to begin with, has the more or less pathetic interest that attaches to a declining residential

quarter. It seems a far cry from the West London of the early eighteenth century to the West London of to-day. One smiles to remember that in the reign of Queen Anne the most fashionable quarters were Bloomsbury Square, Lincoln's Inn Fields, Soho Square, and Queen's Square, Westminster, and that in the reign of George II, they included Leicester Fields, Golden Square, and Charing Cross; while it is even more difficult to believe that where Curzon Street now stands the May Fair was annually held as late as 1756.

There is nothing in the entire life of a city at once so pathetic and remorseless as the law and habits of its growth. A city is like a great, hungry sea, which flows on and on, filling up every creek, and then overspreads its borders, flooding the plains beyond; only, unlike the sea, a city leaves its driftwood behind it.

The prosperous classes, driven from Soho, press over into St. George's, Hanover Square. Forty or fifty years ago St. George's begins noticeably to decline, and Kensington springs up with a mad rush of growth. But in the seventies decline is noticeable even here. The district continues to grow, but at a greatly reduced rate, until between 1881—1891 things are practically stationary, the increase being only 1.9 per cent.; while in the same interval Paddington increases 10.1 per cent., and Fulham 64.5 per cent.* It requires no great stretch of imagination to forecast a time when the wealthy mansions of Kensington shall give place

* St. Pancras offers us a similar illustration. Between 1861—71 its population *increased* 11.4 per cent., and between 1871—81 6.7%, while between 1881—91 it *decreased* 0.8 %. In the corresponding periods Hampstead increased 69.0 %, 40.8 %, and 50.5 %. It would be interesting to discover how far the wealth of Hampstead feels a responsible concern for the poverty of St. Pancras?

to warehouses and shops, or be let out in one and two-room tenements. The same law of change and expansion is noticeable, of course, in other districts, only it has not elsewhere the same aspect of remorseless realism, nor is it so sweeping and revolutionary. It is only in very wealthy districts that the realism and pathos of the change become conspicuously apparent.

The rapidity of the change is remarkable. It is a noteworthy fact that, with the single exception of the City, the area of Soho has declined more rapidly in recent years than any other district in London, the decrease in population between 1881 and 1891 being no less than twenty per cent. The following table, which includes every district in London showing a decrease in population between 1881 and 1891, will serve to emphasize the remarkable way in which the central districts of the West are declining:

Table of Districts showing a Decrease in Population between 1881 and 1891.

Registration District.	Total Decrease 1881—1891.	Percentage of Decrease to Population.
City	13,085 persons	25.5
Soho *	9,237 „	19.8
Strand	6,066 „	18.1
St. Giles	5,495 „	12.1
St. George's, Hanover Square†	15,610 „	10.4
St. Marylebone...	12,506 „	8.1
Holborn §	9,949 „	6.6
St. George's-in-the-East ...	1,362 „	2.9
Shoreditch	2,582 „	2.0
Stepney	1,167 „	2.0
St. Pancras...	1,984 „	0.8

* St. James and St. Anne.

† Including the parishes of St. John Westm. and St. Margaret Westm.

§ Including Clerkenwell.

But the decline of population in the central districts of the West, if most marked in the last decennium, is far from being a recent fact. It has been a steadily growing fact, as the following table will show, for a considerable number of years:

Table showing Decrease in Population of Central London between 1861 and 1891.

Registration District.	Decrease Percentage.		
	1861—71	1871—81	1881—91
City	33.0	32.3	25.5
Soho	3.0	9.1	19.8
Strand	14.3	18.8	18.1
St. Giles-in-the-Fields	1.0	15.6	12.1
St. George's, Hanover Square	0.0	4.2	10.4
St. Marylebone	1.5	2.7	8.1
Holborn...	2.5	7.1	6.6
St. George's-in-the-East	1.7	1.9	2.9
Shoreditch	1.7	0.5	2.0
Stepney *	+ 2.0	+ 1.5	2.0
St. Pancras *	+ 11.4	+ 6.7	0.8

It will thus be seen that there has been a continuous and rapid decline of population in Soho since 1861.

The causes that contribute to a decline of population in a district are twofold. First, changes in the development or distribution of an industry, and secondly, the displacement of residential dwellings by warehouses and shops, accompanied always by a migration of the wealthier classes to more fashionable districts.

Both of these causes have been at work in Soho. The

* In these districts there was a decrease in the last decennium only.

introduction of machine-work has almost revolutionized the tailoring trade and led to much of the work being done outside the district, while the displacement of dwelling-houses by warehouses and shops has been enormous. In the two civil parishes of Soho (St. Anne and St. James) there were no less than 582 fewer houses in 1891 than in 1881, while there was an increase of 209 in the number of uninhabited houses. That is to say, 582 houses had totally disappeared between 1881 and 1891, while the number of uninhabited houses had increased by over two hundred. The surrounding districts suffered similarly. In St. Giles-in-the-Fields, for example, there were 186 fewer houses in 1891 than in 1881 and an increase of 76 in the number of uninhabited houses. In the Tottenham Court Road division of St. Pancras again, there were 126 fewer houses than in 1881, but a decrease of 18 in the number of uninhabited houses; while in Marylebone 302 houses had disappeared between 1881 and 1891, and the number of uninhabited houses had increased by 377. Taking the whole of the districts included in Central London we find that no fewer than 2,432 houses disappeared between 1881 and 1891, while the number of uninhabited houses increased by 1,211. In some cases the *decrease* in the number of *houses* was accompanied by an *increase* of *population*. For example, one Ward of St. Pancras (No. 3) which had 4,320 inhabited houses in 1881, and a population of 34,008 persons, had only 4,091 inhabited houses in 1891 for a population of 34,030 persons. That is to say, 229 fewer houses to accommodate a slightly increased population. A similar condition of things is observable in the Dorset Square Ward of St. Marylebone, where in 1891 there were 49 fewer houses to accommodate

a population increased by 388 persons. These cases, perhaps, should be regarded as exceptional, and it may be they are to be explained, in part at least, by circumstances which do not appear in the figures themselves; but, nevertheless, it is certain that the displacement of dwelling-houses by business premises very considerably aggravates the problem of overcrowding in industrial districts. The increased value of land as sites for business premises, and the consequent constant decrease in the number of dwelling-houses, leads to a corresponding increase in rents. The more prosperous classes migrate to other districts, while the poor, who must be near their work, remain, and become more and more crowded. It is this process that has sent up rents in London 150 per cent., in fifty years, and made Soho, as I shall presently show, one of the most densely crowded districts in London.

CHAPTER II

POVERTY: FACTS AND CONTRASTS

THE district as a whole is characterized by conditions which, if they do not defy, at least baffle accurate description. Here, for example, are all the ordinary facts of social life in crowded centres—insanitary dwellings, irregular employment, sweated wages, and chronic physical weakness, intensified by higher rents and a relatively higher cost of living; and, what is worse still, aggravated by the close proximity of those awful contrasts—the extremes of wealth and poverty, which are the special and peculiar miseries of the West End. In the east and south of London life has its deep and extended miseries, but this is not one of them. There the colour of life, if deadly dull, is more even; it knows nothing of those violent extremes of luxury and want which fix irrevocably and hopelessly before the worker's eyes the gulf which divides the classes. Here are gifts and treasures innumerable—art, knowledge, beauty, wealth—but they are not for the poor. The poor of West London are made to feel that they are aliens from life on the very borders of their own homesteads.

How great is the misery of this contrast, and how seriously the whole social problem in West London is

accentuated by other unequal conditions few, perhaps, yet realize.

In the district of Soho, for example, taking an area with a population of 32,148, the percentage of poverty has been estimated * at 42.4. The density of population gives considerably over 200 persons to an acre, and the whole district (if we exclude the narrow enclosure of Soho Square, which is not open to the poor, and the still smaller area surrounding St Anne's Church) is entirely lacking in open spaces. In certain parts of the district the percentage of poverty and the density of population are, of course, much higher. One area, which includes a population of 6,763 persons, has a poverty percentage of 46.5; while another, which has a population of 9,349, actually shows a percentage of 51.6.

Now the true force of the contrast will be seen when I mention that in the neighbouring district of Mayfair, which immediately adjoins Soho, the percentage of poverty is only 2.7, while in one area, representing a population of 4,243 persons, the percentage is only 0.5. In Belgravia, again, the percentage is 5.0; and in Kensington (which although probably the richest district in Europe has nevertheless 8 per cent. of its population living in one-room tenements) 5.9. In another adjoining district (a little to the north of Soho), which in its social and industrial conditions is perhaps even more invertebrate than Soho, much the same state of things exists, although here statistical information is less certain. The district forms part of two great parishes, St. Pancras, with a population of 234,379 persons and a poverty percentage of 30.4; and St. Marylebone, with a population of 142,404 persons and a poverty percentage of 27.4. These figures, however, give no adequate

* Mr. Charles Booth.

idea of the poverty in the district referred to, for they are necessarily considerably modified by the large areas of wealth represented by the squares and other wealthy residences which abound in both parishes, and the figures for which are included in the general percentages. In many of the streets immediately surrounding Fitzroy Square, for which no separate returns are at present obtainable, the poverty is certainly as great as in Soho only it is confined to smaller areas. In this district one frequently passes abruptly and instantly from a poverty percentage of 3.0 to one of 40.0 or 50.0 or even more. Immediately beyond this district is that of Lisson Grove where there are 50,000 people, half of whom are poor.

Even under normal conditions the pressure of poverty represented by these figures is extreme, but when, as in the early months of 1895, the winter is of exceptional severity, the pressure becomes intolerable. What the poor in the district to which I have just referred suffered at that time probably no man living knows. A special census which I carried out in certain parts of the district revealed some startling facts. Many of the families—one of my helpers says most—lived for weeks on soup and bread procured from the various charitable soup-kitchens in the neighbourhood. Every available article of furniture or clothing was sold or pawned; in some cases the boots were taken off the children's feet and pawned for bread or fuel. A number of families, even in the bitterest times of the long frost, lived for days without fire and light, and often with no food but a chance morsel of bread or tea. One family we found had lived for weeks on bread and tea and dripping. In another room a family was found, consisting of the mother and six children (the father had been

in the infirmary for eleven weeks), who had lived on a pennyworth of bread, a pennyworth of tea, a halfpennyworth of sugar, and a halfpennyworth of something else—I think milk—every other day, and this they had procured on credit. In a room in another house a woman and several children were found. The woman was "keeping guard," afraid to go out lest the landlord, who was watching, should take possession. The only furniture in the room was an egg-box, a chair with no back, a kettle, and a saucepan in which the woman was cooking some cods' heads for their dinner. In a filthy room in another street one of my helpers found several children, very dirty and entirely naked (this in the severest days of the long frost!). Their mother had been out since morning looking for work. Several cases were found where the family had been without food (sometimes without fire also) for three days.

The lack of employment was terrible. In one street, out of one hundred families visited, we found no fewer than one hundred and fifteen adults (the majority of them men) out of employment. Eighty of these had been out for at least a month and upwards. Here are the exact figures:

16	had	been	out	1	month	and upwards
17	„	„	„	2	months	„ „
18	„	„	„	3	„	
12	„	„	„	4	„	
4	„	„	„	5	„	
10	„	„	„	6	„	
1	„	„	„	7	„	
1	„	„	„	8	„	
1	„	„	„	9	„	

In another short street, out of sixteen homes visited (representing thirteen families and three single persons),

there were *fourteen* adults out of employment, all, or nearly all of them, being heads of families.

5	had	been	out	1	month
2	„	„	„	2	months
2	„	„	„	3	„
2	„	„	„	4	„
1	„	„	„	8	„
1	„	„	„	9	„

In one block of dwellings in another street, out of twenty-three homes visited, twenty-six adults were returned as out of employment. Here again, in nearly every case. it was the head of the family who was out.

3	had	been	out	1	month
4	„	„	„	2	months
6	„	„	„	3	„
2	„	„	„	5	„
1	„	„	„	12	„
1	„	„	„	15	„

And so I might go on. Out of the first 170 cases reported to me as unemployed, only 25 were returned as single men and women, and of these several had relatives dependent upon them. The rest were heads of families. * In addition to the wholly unemployed, we found at least twice as many who were working only two or three days a week.

In considering these facts, it must of course be remembered that they refer to a season of exceptional distress; but allowance being made for this, they give a valuable and

* It must be remembered that in these districts the wife is almost as invariably a wage-earner as the husband, and hence it is often difficult to distinguish between women who are, strictly speaking, heads of families, and those who are not.

reliable clue to the chronic distress of a singularly invertebrate district.

But these poverty statistics require to be supplemented by other facts before the full force of the contrasts which life in West London offers can be appreciated.

For example, while according to the last census returns there are in the registration division of West London (excluding St. Marylebone, St. Pancras, and Bloomsbury) no fewer than 26,222 persons living on their own means (and these form but a small proportion of the wealthy unoccupied classes), there are in the various work-house institutions of the same area between seven and eight thousand paupers.* Moreover, between four and five thousand persons† die every year in the work-houses, hospitals, and public asylums of the district; while if we include St. Giles-in-the-Fields, Marylebone, and the Tottenham Court Road sub-division of St. Pancras, which, although assigned for registration purposes to other divisions, really belong to West, and West Central London, at least another thousand persons must be added.

* In 1891 the number was 7,483.

† In 1894 the number was 4,139.

CHAPTER III

OVERCROWDING

But no statement of the contrasts which West London offers is possible which leaves out of view the sanitary conditions under which the people live, and the awful problem of overcrowding. The tremendous seriousness of this problem of overcrowding has never been intelligently grasped, nor is its mere extent sufficiently realized. In the registration division of West London, for example, no fewer than 61,056 persons live in one-room tenements, while if we add St. Giles-in-the-Fields, St. Marylebone, and St. Pancras, the number of persons living in one-room tenements reaches the enormous total of 128,120. But even these figures, as I shall show, by no means represent the full extent of the overcrowding, inasmuch as a large proportion of those living in two and three-room tenements live under crowded conditions.

There are several ways in which the measure of overcrowding in a particular district may be determined. It may be estimated, both absolutely and comparatively, (1) by the number of *persons* to a *house;* (2) by the number of *families* to a *house;* (3) by the number of *houses* to an *acre;* (4) by the number of *persons* to an *acre;* (5) by the

number of *one-room tenements;* and (6) by the number of *persons per room.*

In the application of the first three of these methods the size of the house is an important consideration, and must be carefully kept in mind when instituting a comparison between different districts. Strict comparison, of course, is only possible between districts in which the houses are of uniform size. But allowance being made for this, the comparison even between districts where the houses differ greatly in size becomes of great interest; while I shall try to show that in some respects at least it is of great sanitary importance.

I propose to apply each of these methods to the district of Soho, basing my investigations upon the returns of the last census, and then to compare the results in each case with the results of similar methods applied to other districts. I select:

I. **The Number of Persons to a House.** In this case it is obvious that the comparison, if it is to be of any value, must be made only between districts where, as I have already said, there is no great disparity in the size of the houses. It would be useless, for example, to attempt a comparison between the number of persons inhabiting a house in Soho, where the houses for the most part are large, and the number of persons inhabiting a house in St. George's-in-the-East, or Bermondsey, where the houses are much smaller. Such a comparison, if made, could only be useful as an indirect clue to the difference in the size of the houses in the two industrial districts. But this objection does not apply to a comparison between the civil parishes of Soho, and the civil parishes of St. George's, Hanover Square, and Kensington. In this case

the difference in the size of the houses would tell against Soho, which nevertheless, despite this, has a far higher average population per house than any of the wealthy neighbouring parishes. The appended table will show this at once:

Civil Parish.	Population.	Number of Inhabited Houses.	Average Number of Persons to a House.
St. Anne, Soho	12,317	938	13.123
St. James, Westminster * ...	24,995	2,592	9.166
St. George's, Hanover Square	78,364	11,204	7.0
Kensington	166,308	22,084	7.117
Average for all London			7⅔

In considering the above figures it should be remembered that while the houses in Soho are large, the mansions in St. George's, Hanover Square, and Kensington are even larger, many of them being considerably larger, and when allowance is made for this, the extent of the overcrowding in Soho is powerfully suggested.

But the force of the contrast will be seen even more clearly if instead of *civil* parishes we compare the smaller areas comprised within *ecclesiastical* parishes. For this purpose I select four adjacent ecclesiastical parishes in Soho, and four adjacent ecclesiastical parishes in St. George's, Hanover Square.

	Ecclesiastical Parish.	Population.	Number of Inhabited Houses.	Average Number of Persons to a House.
Soho	St. Anne	8075	718	11¼
Soho	St. Mary the Virgin	4242	220	19¼
Soho	St. John the Baptist	5234	430	12⅙
Soho	St. Luke's, Berwick Street ...	5370	392	13⅔

* Including St. Luke's, Berwick Street, Soho, where the average is 13⅔ persons to a house.

	Ecclesiastical Parish.	Population.	Number of Inhabited Houses.	Average Number of Persons to a House.
St. George's, Hanover Square	Christ Church, Mayfair ...	5057	715	7
	Hanover Church, Regent Street	2746	421	6½
	St. Mark, North Audley St.	2937	554	5⅔
	St. Michael, Chester Square	4161	729	5¾

It will thus be seen that Soho, despite the fact that its houses are considerably smaller than many of the houses in St. George's, Hanover Square and Kensington, has on the average virtually twice as many persons per house; while in certain limited and closely adjacent areas the proportion is even greater.

II. If we consider (2) **The Number of Families, or Separate Occupiers per House,** a similar inequality presents itself.

In certain important respects, moral as well as physical, the number of families per house is of even greater importance than the number of persons per house. It is clear for example, that in respect of sanitary conveniences alone, the difference between a small house inhabited by at most one or two families (as is generally the case in East and South London), and a larger house inhabited by five, six, and even more families (as is so common in Soho and the surrounding districts) is from a sanitary, as well as moral point of view enormous. In Soho and the immediately surrounding districts, the houses are for the most part large, but having been built originally for occupation by one family, they are furnished with altogether inadequate sanitary conveniences for their present occupants, and this should be borne in mind in the

comparisons which I am about to make. The full seriousness of this defect will be made plain in some particulars that I shall presently give.

In the Appendix to this volume, to which the reader is specially referred,* I have given carefully prepared tables showing the number of families, or separate occupiers, per house, (1) as between Soho and the rest of London, (2) as between Soho and the wealthy districts of the West, and (3) as between Soho and the most crowded districts in other parts of London. From these it will be seen that the average number of families per house is $3\frac{1}{5}$ in the Civil Parish of St. Anne, Soho, as against $1\frac{3}{5}$ in St. George's, Hanover Square; $1\frac{3}{5}$ in Kensington; and $1\frac{6}{7}$ in Paddington.

The force of the contrast represented by these figures becomes even more marked when allowance is made for the number of poor families who are to be found living in mews and other "slum" localities even in the wealthiest districts of the West; and further, for the number of families living in fashionable "flats." †

If again, we compare the industrial districts of the West with the most crowded districts in other parts of London, the following result appears:

* See Appendix I.

† In St. George's, Hanover Square, 7 per cent. of the population live in one-room tenements; in Kensington 8 per cent.; and in Paddington 8 per cent.

Civil Parish.	Average Number of Families or Separate Occupiers per House.
St. Anne, Soho	$3\frac{1}{5}$
St. James, Westminster*	$2\frac{1}{3}$
Spitalfields	$2\frac{1}{3}$
St. Saviour's, Southwark	$2\frac{1}{5}$
Whitechapel	$1\frac{9}{10}$
St. George's-in-the-East	$1\frac{9}{10}$
Bethnal Green	$1\frac{2}{3}$
Bermondsey	$1\frac{2}{3}$

III. In dealing, as I next propose to do, with the **Number of Houses per Acre,** it is necessary to emphasize the fact that here again the style (detached, semi-detached, or otherwise) and size of the house are all-important considerations. Following the method of the previous comparisons, I have given in the Appendix detailed Tables † showing the number of houses per acre (1) as between Soho and the rest of London; (2) as between Soho and the wealthy districts of the West; and (3) as between Soho and the most crowded districts in other parts of London. If these tables are studied it will be seen that Soho has three times as many houses per acre as the average for all London; twice as many as St. George's, Hanover Square, and Kensington; and five times as many as Hampstead. If, however, to put it even more clearly, we compare two adjacent registration sub-districts, *viz.*, St. Anne, Soho, and Mayfair, the result is even more striking:

* Including St. Luke's, Berwick Street, Soho.

† See Appendix II.

Registration Sub-district.	Area in Statute Acres.	Total Number of Houses.	Average Number of Houses per Acre.
St. Anne, Soho..	53	1,134	21.21
Mayfair	575	3,888	6.438

That is to say, there are more than three times as many houses per acre in Soho as in the wealthy district of Mayfair.

If, on the other hand, we compare Soho with other industrial districts in the east and south of London —although here, of course, the smaller size of the houses in the latter districts must be an important factor in the conclusions to be drawn from the comparison—the following result appears:

Civil Parish.	Average Number of Houses per Acre.
St. Anne, Soho	21
St. James, Westminster *	20
Spitalfields	26
St. George's-in-the-East	23
Bethnal Green	22
Whitechapel	22
Bermondsey	18
St. Saviour's, Southwark	13

Now the results of the comparison shown above are certainly remarkable when it is considered that the houses in the industrial districts of the east and south are considerably smaller than the houses occupied by the industrial classes in Soho. They are probably explained, (1) by the fact that the parishes compared differ greatly in size, and

* Including St. Luke's, Berwick Street, Soho.

that in the east and south relatively larger areas are covered by factories and warehouses than is the case in Soho (although the latter is probably at a great disadvantage in the number and size of its shops), and (2) by the further fact that Soho contains no water-areas. This consideration undoubtedly affects the result in three of the districts compared, *viz.*, St. George's-in-the-East, which includes within its boundaries a water-area of nearly thirty acres (29.7); Bethnal Green, which contains a water-area of nearly sixteen acres (15.8); and Whitechapel, which contains a water-area of just over ten acres; but it does not apply to the remainder of the parishes compared, all of which share with Soho a total lack of water-areas.*

It is obvious therefore, that the comparison will gain considerably in value if we select not civil parishes, which differ greatly in size, but registration sub-districts of more or less equal area. In the following table I have made careful selection of the most densely crowded sub-districts in East, South, and Central London:

Table showing the Number of Houses per Acre in certain Registration Sub-Districts.

Registration Sub-Districts.	Area in Statute Acres.	Total Number of Houses.	Average Number of Houses per Acre.
St. Anne, Soho	53	1,134	21
Bethnal Green, North	141	6,973	49
Borough Road, Southwark ...	64	2,292	35
St. George's-in-the-East (N.) ...	147	4,880	33

* Rotherhithe, which has by far the largest water-area of any parish in London (179 acres, out of a total acreage of 754), has an average of only 7 houses per acre.

Registration Sub-Districts.	Area in Statute Acres.	Total Number of Houses	Average Number of Houses per Acre.
St. George-the-Martyr, Southwark (Kent Road)	103	3,321	32
Hoxton Old Town (Shoreditch)	117	3,260	28
Spitalfields	62	1,672	27
Whitechapel	105	2,606	25
Bermondsey	93	2,314	24
Whitecross St., St. Luke's ...	32	761	24
Lambeth (Waterloo Road) ...	67	1,564	23
St. James, Clerkenwell	73	1,526	20

The change in the method of comparison, it will be seen at once, has considerably affected the result in several cases. It has also made the comparison fairer by almost entirely excluding the important factor of water-areas. In the former comparison the *civil parishes* of St. George's-in-the-East, Bethnal Green, and Whitechapel, contained no less than 56 acres of water-area, while in the new comparison (Table IV) the sub-districts of these parishes contain only one acre of water-area between them. But while the figures in three or four cases have been considerably increased, the general averages, as compared with Soho, remain surprisingly low, and apparently quite out of proportion to the difference in the size of the houses.

In view of all the facts it seems difficult to escape the conclusion that the relatively small number of houses per acre in the industrial districts of the east and south, is, in some part at least, attributable to the provision of open spaces, and to greater liberality (scanty though it be)

in the allowance of garden spaces. In Soho, as I have already pointed out, there are no open spaces, while the houses are practically entirely deficient in yards or gardens. There is considerable ground for satisfaction, however, in the thought that we have at last taken efficient measures to prevent the recurrence of this form of overcrowding in the future. The London Building Act of 1894 recognised for the first time in London the principle that the height of a building should be proportionate to the width of the street on which it abuts, and further, that the amount of open space at the rear of a building should also be proportionate to its height. This is excellent, and its vigorous enforcement will happily prevent the crowding of houses on small areas in the future, even if it leaves untouched and unmodified the evils of the present.

IV. I come now to a much clearer, and in every way more reliable test of overcrowding, *viz.*, the **Number of Persons to an Acre;** and here again I have followed the same methods of comparison.

By a reference to the Tables given in the Appendix* it will be seen that while the average density of population per acre for all London is 56.301, in the Civil Parish of St. Anne, Soho, it is actually 232.21. If again, we compare Soho with the wealthy civil parishes of the West the following result appears:

* See Appendix III.

Civil Parish.	Average Number of Persons per Acre.
St. Anne, Soho	232.21
St. George's, Hanover Square	70.174
Kensington	76.20
Paddington	93.103

If, to make the comparison clearer, we take adjacent registration sub-districts, the result is as follows:

Registration Sub-District.	Area in Statute Acres.	Population.	Average Number of Persons per Acre.
St. Anne, Soho	53	12,317	232.21
St. James (including St. Luke's Berwick Street)	163	24,995	153.56
Mayfair	575	23,733	41.158
Belgravia	542	54,631	100.431

So that Soho has four times as many persons per acre as the average for all London; more than three times as many as the civil parishes of St. George's, Hanover Square, and Kensington; two and a third times as many as the sub-district of Belgravia; and nearly six times as many as Mayfair.

If now we compare Soho with the most crowded districts in East and South London, the relative extent of overcrowding in Soho will more plainly appear:*

Table showing the *Number of Persons per Acre* in (α) Soho, and (β) the most crowded districts in East and South London.

* To make the comparison fairer I have substituted registration sub-districts for civil parishes.

Registration Sub-District.	Area in Statute Acres.	Population.	Average Number of Persons per Acre.
St. Anne, Soho	53	12,317	232
Bethnal Green (North)	141	51,520	365
Spitalfields	62	18,869	304
Borough Road, Southwark	64	16,624	260
Whitecross Street (St. Luke's, E.C.)	32	8,278	258
St. George's-in-the-East (N.)	147	37,738	256
Hoxton Old Town	117	28,354	242
St. James, Clerkenwell	73	16,803	230
City Road, E.C.	127	29,177	220
St. George-the-Martyr, Southwark (Kent Road)	103	21,867	212
St. Giles-in-the-Fields (South)	64	13,454	210
Lambeth (Waterloo Road)	67	14,031	209
Whitechapel (Church)	105	20,298	193
Bermondsey (Leather Market)	93	14,952	160
Whitechapel (Goodman's Fields)	59	9,413	160
Ratcliff	111	14,928	134
Shadwell	68	8,123	120
St. Saviour's, Southwark	127	13,913	109

The comparative value of these figures will be more clearly realized when I mention that if the population of England and Wales were uniformly distributed, there would be 85 yards between any two neighbouring indivi-

duals; moreover, there would be 1.29 acres for every person. In Soho, on the other hand, under the present condition of things, there are, as I have shown, no fewer than 232 persons to an acre! If, again, we extend our area of observation, and estimate by square miles, some equally striking contrasts appear. In Wales, for instance, there are five counties with less than 100 inhabitants per square mile; while of the English counties Westmoreland has only 84 persons per square mile, and Rutlandshire, Herefordshire, Huntingdonshire, Shropshire, Cumberland, Lincolnshire, and the North Riding of Yorkshire from 129 to 181 persons per square mile. The average for England and Wales is 497 persons per square mile; in Lancashire it represents 1,938 persons per square mile; while for all London the average is 35,998 persons per square mile. Soho, on the other hand, is populated at the rate of 148,608 persons per square mile!

V. I turn now to what is, perhaps, an even more exact test of overcrowding, *viz.*, the **Number of One-Room Tenements**. It may be of interest if, in the first place, I give the figures for London as a whole.

The total number of tenements of all kinds in London is 937,606. *

Of these:—

172,502	are	1	Room	Tenements
189,707	„	2	„	„
153,189	„	3	„	„
115,171	„	4	„	„
630,569				

* Census Returns 1891.

while 307,037 are tenements of 5 rooms and upwards. That is to say, more than two-thirds of the tenements in London consist of from one to four rooms only.

To put it more clearly still:

Of the total number of tenements of all kinds in London

more than 18 per cent. consist of 1 room
" " 20 " " " " 2 rooms
" " 16 " " " " 3 "
" " 12 " " " " 4 "

and only 33 per cent. consist of 5 rooms and upwards.

For the purposes of the present comparison, however, I shall deal with one-room tenements only. The smallest areas in which comparison is possible are sanitary areas, but inasmuch as the results will be shown in each case by percentages these will suffice.

In the Tables which appear in the Appendix, * and to which in this instance I would urge special attention, I have shown the proportion of one-room tenements (1) as between Soho and the whole of London; (2) as between Soho and the wealthy districts of the West; and (3) as between Soho and other industrial districts. From these it will be seen that no less than 30 per cent. of the total tenements in the Strand Sanitary Area (which includes Soho) are one-room tenements, as against seventeen per cent. in Kensington and Paddington: sixteen per cent. in St. George's, Hanover Square; and ten per cent. in Battersea; while the results of the comparison therein suggested with other industrial districts in the east and south of London will doubtless surprise many.

* See Appendix IV.

But the actual distribution of overcrowding is seen much more clearly when we consider the **Number of Persons** living in one-room tenements. I have therefore added a further list of Tables giving the figures for different districts.*

From these it will be seen that the Strand Sanitary Area (the most densely populated part of which is comprised within the parish of St. Anne, Soho) has as high a percentage of persons living in one-room tenements as Whitechapel and St. Saviour's, Southwark; and a higher percentage than Clerkenwell, St. George-the-Martyr, Southwark, Shoreditch, Bethnal Green, Limehouse, and Bermondsey; while the percentage is exceeded only in four cases (one, and part of another, of which are properly West Central Areas), *viz.*, St. George's-in-the-East; St. Luke, City Road; Holborn; and St. Giles-in-the-Fields.

That Soho does not gain, but rather lose, by the compulsory selection of Sanitary Areas as the basis of comparison, will be seen at once when I point out that while in the parish of St. Anne, Soho (which furnishes half the population of the Strand Area) the density of population is 232 persons to an acre; in the remainder of the area covered by the Sanitary Division it is only 113 persons to an acre. The entire area which constitutes the Strand Sanitary Division is made up of the following sub-divisions:—

	Population.	Average Number of Persons per Acre.
St. Anne, Soho	12,317	232
St. Paul, Covent Garden	2,142	82
The Precinct of the Savoy ...	201	28
St. Mary-le-Strand	1,549	110
St. Clement Danes	8,492	154
The Liberty of the Rolls	421	38

* See Appendix V.

If it were possible to apply uniform methods of analysis and differentiation to the whole of the Sanitary Areas included in the foregoing comparison, it would probably appear that Soho has a far higher percentage of persons living in one-room tenements than any other district in London.

But as I have already had occasion to point out, the percentage of persons living in one-room tenements, although an invaluable test of overcrowding, is not a complete or exhaustive one, inasmuch as many of the occupants of two, and three, and even four-room tenements live under crowded conditions (*i.e.*, two or more persons to a room). I propose therefore, as a final test, to submit tables showing the number and percentage of such persons in (1) Soho and the rest of London; (2) Soho and the wealthy districts of the West; (3) Soho and other industrial districts. The figures in this case are so important that I shall give them here in full.

I. Table showing the Number and Percentage of Persons living two or more Persons to a Room in (α) Soho, and (β) all London.

	Total Population.	Total Number of Persons living 2 or more persons to a Room.	Percentage of Total Population.
Strand Sanitary Area (including St. Anne, Soho)	25,122	10,617	42¼
All London.	4,211,743	1,246,615	29⅝

II. Table showing the Number and Percentage of Persons living two or more persons to a room in (α) Soho, and (β) the wealthy Districts of the West.

Sanitary Area.	Total Population.	Total Number of Persons living 2 or more Persons to a Room.	Percentage of Total Population.
Strand (including St. Anne, Soho).	25,122	10,617	42
Kensington.	166,308	41,519	25
Paddington.	117,846	29,866	25
St. George's, Hanover Square	78,364	14,743	19

The results of the foregoing comparison are certainly remarkable, and show very clearly to what a serious and unsuspected extent poverty hangs upon the skirts of extreme wealth in the West. It would probably startle nine-tenths of the wealthy residents of Kensington to discover that twenty-five per cent. of the total inhabitants of their Sanitary Area live under crowded conditions.

I come now to the east, south, and central districts:

III. Table showing the Number and Percentage of Persons living two or more Persons to a Room in (α) Soho, and (β) the most Crowded Districts in Other Parts of London.

Sanitary Area.	Total Population.	Total Number of Persons living 2 or more Persons to a Room.	Percentage of Total Population.
Strand (including St. Anne, Soho)..	25,122	10,617	42
St. Luke, City Road ...	42,440	25,090	59

Sanitary Area.	Total Population.	Total Number of Persons living 2 or more Persons to a Room.	Percentage of Total Population.
St. George's-in-the-East	45,795	25,351	55
Whitechapel	73,552	40,042	54
Clerkenwell	66,216	35,680	54
Holborn	33,485	17,278	52
St. Saviour, Southwark	27,177	13,190	49
St. George-the-Martyr, Southwark	59,712	29,440	49
Shoreditch	124,009	60,589	49
Bethnal Green	129,132	61,849	48
St. Giles-in-the-Fields ..	39,782	16,402	41
St. Marylebone	142,404	55,128	39
Limehouse	57,376	21,797	38
Bermondsey	84,682	30,881	36
St. Pancras	234,379	71,584	31

If we push the analysis further, and take the number and percentage of persons living under condition of *extreme* overcrowding (*i.e.*, four or more persons to a room) the results are almost incredibly appalling:

I. Table showing the Number and Percentage of Persons living four or more Persons to a Room in (α) Soho, and (β) all London.

Sanitary Area.	Total Population.	Total No. of Persons living 4 or more Persons to a Room.	Percentage of Total Population.
Strand (including St. Anne, Soho)	25,122	2,606	10⅖
All London	4,211,743	185,204	4⅖

II. Table showing the Number and Percentage of Persons living four or more Persons to a Room in (α) Soho, and (β) the wealthy districts of the West.

Sanitary Area.	Total Population.	Total No. of Persons living 4 or more Persons to a Room.	Percentage of Total Population.
Strand (including St. Anne, Soho)	25,122	2,606	10
Kensington	166,308	6923	4
Paddington	117,846	4491	4
St. George's, Hanover Square ..	78,364	1535	2

III. Table showing the Number and Percentage of Persons living four or more Persons to a Room in (α) Soho, and (β) the most Crowded Districts in Other Parts of London.

Sanitary Area.	Total Population.	Total No. of Persons living 4 or more Persons to a Room.	Percentage of Total Population.
Strand (including St. Anne, Soho)	25,122	2606	10
Whitechapel	73,552	11,154	15
St. Luke, City Road ...	42,440	5300	12
St. George's-in-the-East	45,795	5457	12
Holborn	33,485	4091	12
St. Giles-in-the-Fields .	39,782	4482	11
Clerkenwell	66,216	6417	10
St. Saviour's,Southwark,	27,177	2230	8
St. George-the-Martyr, Southwark	59,712	4691	8
Shoreditch	124,009	10,002	8

Sanitary Area.	Total Population.	Total No. of Persons living 4 or more Persons to a Room.	Percentage of Total Population.
Bethnal Green	129,132	10,924	8
St. Marylebone	142,404	12,026	8
Limehouse	57,376	3346	6
St. Pancras	234,379	14,370	6
Bermondsey *	84,682	2942	3

It is but fair, however, in estimating the comparative values of the above percentages, to keep carefully in view the fact that owing to special features in the constitution of some of the areas compared (*e.g.*, the West and West Central areas), the percentages have not in every case equal value. This should be remembered especially in considering the figures for Soho, which loses greatly, from a comparative point of view, by its inclusion in the Strand Sanitary division. As I have already shown, while furnishing one half of the total population of the area, its density of population is slightly more than twice as high as that of the other half, a condition of things that does not exist in those areas of the south and east which show a higher percentage of overcrowding; and inasmuch as the percentages are based upon the *total* population of the areas, this considerably affects the result. †

The same consideration applies to other districts. For example, St. Giles-in-the-Fields, nineteen per cent. of whose population live in one-room tenements (only three

* It will be noticed that there is actually one per cent. less extreme overcrowding in Bermondsey than in Kensington.

† It is a noteworthy fact in this connection that taking the families of those employed in the tailoring and boot trades, there is a higher per-i centage of overcrowding in Central London than in East London.

per cent. less than the poorest district in London), nevertheless includes the wealthy district of St. George's, Bloomsbury; St. Pancras, which has 14½ per cent. of persons living in one-room tenements, includes a number of wealthy squares, and the perhaps even wealthier districts lying around Regent's Park; while Marylebone, which shows a percentage of 17⅜ of persons living in one-room tenements, contains the wealthy districts lying around Cavendish Square. If due allowance were made for the large proportion of the population living in these wealthy districts where the houses, it must be remembered, are of considerable size, the light thrown upon actual overcrowding in the industrial districts of the West would be startling indeed.*

* It may be interesting to compare the percentages of *wealth*, judged by the size of tenements, in different districts. Unfortunately, owing to the arrangement of the Census Returns, the appeal can only be made to tenements of *five* rooms and upwards.

Table showing the Proportion of Tenements of Five Rooms and Upwards in Different Districts.

Sanitary Area.	Percentage of Tenements of Five Rooms and Upwards.
Kensington	44
St. George's, Hanover Square	40
Paddington	36
St. James, Westminster	28
Marylebone	25
St. Pancras	22
Strand	21
St. Giles-in-the-Fields	21
Bermondsey	21
Bethnal Green	16
Clerkenwell	15
St. Saviour's, Southwark	15
Whitechapel	15
St. George-the-Martyr, Southwark	13
St. George's-in-the-East	12
St. Luke, City Road	12

If the appeal could be made to tenements of *ten* rooms and upwards, the results would be even more striking.

And yet, making no allowance for this fact, Soho (judged as part of the Strand area) shows as high a percentage of extreme overcrowding as Clerkenwell, and a higher percentage than St. Saviour's, Southwark; St. George-the-Martyr, Southwark; Shoreditch; Bethnal Green; Limehouse; and Bermondsey.

But we lose sight of comparative differences in the appalling character of the fact that thirty per cent. of the total population of London, and more than fifty per cent. of the industrial population of London, live under crowded conditions; while taking the West End alone (including only the sanitary areas of the Strand; St. James; St. Giles-in-the-Fields; St. Pancras; Marylebone; St. George's, Hanover Square; Kensington; and Paddington), despite the incredible, and quite incalculable wealth of the district, no fewer than 248,552 persons, or 32 per cent. of the entire population of the district, live under crowded conditions; while of these no less than 47,851 persons, or 6½ per cent. of the entire population of the district, live under conditions of extreme overcrowding, *i.e.*, four or more persons to a single room.

The actual conditions under which the people in various districts live will be seen in the special Tables which I give in the Appendix. *

The more closely these figures are studied the more terrible and appalling does the problem appear; and yet it is much to be feared that even the Census Returns only inadequately represent the evil, for the overcrowded poor—with the fear of ejection and increased rent ever before them—have an almost invincible reluctance to state the actual facts, so that the official returns are often of

* See Appendix VI.

necessity misleading. But in any case, mere statistical tables can never suggest the awful horrors—I use the word deliberately—of overcrowding as it exists in every industrial district in London, and not least in the West. For example, one case (in Soho) was reported to me of a working man with a wife and a large family, who had barely enough sleeping accommodation for themselves, but who nevertheless, took in several bakers as lodgers. The lodgers were away all night, and came home to sleep in the daytime, so that in this way the beds were always occupied. Precisely the same thing happened in another house in the same district. The announcement that may sometimes be seen in Soho of "Part of a room to let," represents what is frequently a very serious aggravation of the evils of overcrowding. In one case a small back-room was occupied by a young, newly-married couple, who took in a single-man lodger who slept in a chair-bedstead. In the same house two back-rooms, both small, were occupied by a man and his wife and three men-lodgers, and the rooms were further let out at night for gambling purposes at the rate of one shilling per hour. Subsequently the woman (whose husband was a baker and therefore away all night) got rid of the men-lodgers and boarded a prostitute, and let her rooms out to this woman as a common brothel.

In a neighbouring street a small back-room was occupied by seven persons, *viz.*, a family consisting of a man, his wife, and three children; and two (sometimes three) lodgers. A tenant in the same house gave information that part of the occupants stayed up gambling (which was always being carried on) while the others slept; but even then it seemed probable that some must sleep under the bed as well as upon it.

A house in another street of which information was given me was fearfully overcrowded. In two rooms were a family of eleven persons, *viz.*, a man, his wife, and nine children (one a son 20 years of age, a daughter 19, another 14, another 13, and several below this age), and a lodger aged 22, making twelve persons in all. The man was a tailor and carried on his trade in the same room. They slept four in a bed.

Another small room (top floor back) in the same house was occupied by four persons; another (top floor front) by five persons; and another room downstairs by five persons. All the rooms were exceedingly dirty, and a tenant (a woman who had been reduced in circumstances, and who was now occupying a single room in the same house) stated that it was impossible to walk through the house without picking up vermin. In this house, it will be seen, five rooms were occupied by twenty-five persons! These facts may well seem startling when the history of the locality, and the extreme wealth of the surrounding districts, are considered; but they by no means reveal the evil in exaggerated or very exceptional forms. On the contrary, were it necessary, they could easily be multiplied.

Precisely the same condition of things prevails in the immediately surrounding districts, accompanied, as is frequently the case in Soho, by hideously insanitary conditions. For example, only a few weeks back * the officers of the St. Giles's Board of Works applied for, and obtained, closing orders in respect of certain houses situated just on the borders of Soho. Dr. Lovett, the medical officer of health, in giving evidence as to the condition of the houses

* May 20th 1896.

in question, stated that the death-rate of one amounted to 129 per 1000! All were in a bad state of repair from roof to basement. Some of them had yards at the back, but they were no larger than an ordinary table. The roofs were defective, and the sanitary arrangements exceedingly bad. The doctor added that he found large holes in one of the rooms. He understood that they were caused by rats. He was told that rats entered one of the bedrooms, and that one child had to keep awake to prevent the rats attacking the other children in the room.

In another closely adjoining district (a little to the north of Soho, and in the immediate neighbourhood of Fitzroy Square) a very similar condition of things exists. A large proportion of the houses are overcrowded, while the condition of things in several of the streets almost baffles description. One street, for example, is largely occupied by persons with large families who find it difficult to obtain accommodation elsewhere. Most of the houses are let out in one or two-room tenements, many of the rooms containing five, six, and seven persons; the sanitary arrangements are of the worst description, while the houses generally are in a miserable state of repair, such mishaps as a portion of the ceiling falling upon the people's food at meal times being among the least serious of the results of the general delapidation. The cellar-kitchens, which are altogether unfit for human habitation, nevertheless let at high rents. One—consisting of two wretchedly small and dark tenements, said to be very damp, and swarming with rats—was occupied by a family of six persons at a rent of six shillings per week. Even the wash-house attached to the house was let separately as a work-shed at a rent of three shillings per week, the consequence being that all

the tenants (some of whom took in washing) were compelled to wash and boil their clothes in pie-dishes and saucepans, which were afterwards used for cooking purposes. When the landlord was remonstrated with for depriving his tenants of the wash-house he coolly referred them to the public wash-houses, where, of course, the women would have to pay for accommodation. In this case—and I believe in others also—the street-door was open day and night, and I am informed that it was no uncommon thing at night to discover two or three homeless persons asleep on the stairs inside. Moreover, despite the large number of separate families occupying the house, there was only one W.C. for the whole of the occupants (the other having been closed for a considerable period), and this was so situated that people from the street freely used it.

Another house next door, belonging to the same landlord, was equally crowded. The front cellar-kitchen, very damp and dirty (the drains having an outlet near the window) was occupied by a family of eight persons. The man and his wife worked at tailoring, using the same room, and the rent was 4/6 per week. The back cellar-kitchen, miserably small and dark, was occupied by three persons (man, wife, and lodger) and the rent was 2/6 per week. The ground floor, consisting of a small shop and two small parlours, was occupied by a family of six persons man, wife (tailors), and four children, at a rent of fourteen shillings per week. The occupants and rents of the other rooms in this house were as follows:

	Occupants.	Rent per week.
First floor front (1 room)	man and wife	7/-
„ „ back „	man, wife, and daughter (16)	5/6
Second floor, front „	man, wife, and 5 children	6/6
„ „ back „	man, wife, and 2 children	5/-
Top floor front „	man, wife, and 1 child	5/6
„ „ back „	man, wife, and 2 children	4/6

That is to say, no fewer than forty persons were crowded together in this house, and it is probable that that number is often exceeded. And yet for all these persons there was only one W.C., and that through the tank overhead leaking was hardly ever fit for use, and the drains were frequently out of order.

Another house immediately adjoining was similarly overcrowded, and in this case also, there was only one W. C., which was always in a filthy condition.* The wash-house was let to a laundry as part of the shop and was not available for use by the rest of the tenants. The cellar-kitchens of this house were let out as a bake-house to some Italians, who used it for the manufacture of fancy confectionery. It mattered nothing, apparently, that close by, under the very windows of the bake-house, there was a breakage of the sewer-pipes! It is perhaps a happy

* I am glad to say that quite recently, after repeated agitation, pressure has been brought to bear upon the landlord, and a second W.C. has been built in several of the houses. The condition of things that actually exists in this neighbourhood can, however, be realized when I mention than in one of the houses referred to there were at the time that the second W.C. was added no fewer than forty-four persons (including children), as many as nine being crowded into an underground kitchen. Moreover, some of the houses in this street are still furnished with only one W.C.

ignorance that keeps the majority of the community unaware of the conditions under which their food is prepared. Of the 700 bake-houses, for example, which are to be found in West London, a very large proportion are underground,* and the condition of many would certainly not bear close investigation. The ordinary precautions of cleanliness are often flagrantly disregarded, and this is conspicuously the case in bake-houses where confectionery is made. Happily, the Factory and Workshop Act of 1895, absolutely prohibits the use of underground premises as bake-houses, except in the case of premises so used prior to January 1st, 1896, but it may be seriously questioned whether in view of all the facts it is not necessary to go further and make the provisions of the Act retrospective.

The same remark applies to underground tenements generally. Things have undoubtedly improved in recent years, but much more stringent regulations are required to give the overcrowded poor in the highly-rented districts of the West a chance of even moderately healthy dwellings. Personally I am inclined to think that the principle of the London Building Act of 1894 (which requires that in the case of new buildings having habitable basements there shall be provided in the rear of the building, and exclusively belonging to it, an open space of not less than 100 square feet, free from any erection above the level of the pavement), should be applied to all existing basement tenements. It may safely be said that so far as Soho and the immediately surrounding districts are concerned, very few of the underground tenements are really habitable.

* Out of 208 bake-houses in the St. Pancras district alone, only 25 are above the ground-level.

The overcrowding of these tenements is often so skilfully concealed that few would suspect it who did not know the district intimately. For example, information was given me of a family of eight persons who occupied an underground kitchen tenement in Soho. A visitor calling at the house, however, would never see more than three or four of the eight persons actually living there, for the children and young people had been so trained that immediately upon the arrival of a stranger, of whose approach they secured full warning, they escaped into another room. This is a common device deliberately resorted to to escape detection, and to avoid the necessity of additional accommodation with its inevitable increase of rent; and so long as rents are so outrageously high it is difficult to see how it can be overcome.

CHAPTER IV

THE PROBLEM OF RENT

THE rent for three rooms in Soho ranges from fourteen to twenty shillings per week, while one case was reported to me where the rent for three rooms, in a by no means desirable street, was actually twenty-five shillings per week! Single rooms rarely let for less than five or six shillings—six shillings, indeed, is said to be the average rent in the district—while frequently they let for much more. The following cases, which are by no means exceptional, will illustrate the seriousness of this question of rent. They are selected from five different, but closely adjacent, streets in Soho.

I select first a house, in a thoroughly representative street (*A*), occupied by five different families.

The ground and first floors were let out as a shop and Jewish Club. The rent for these two floors (four rooms) was 30/- per week. The second floor front (one room) was let for 6/6 a week, and two small rooms on the same floor for the same sum. The top floor front (one room) was occupied by a man, wife, and four children, and frequently in the daytime by two or three tailoresses in addition—the room serving for work-room, kitchen, and

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bedroom. The rent was 7/- per week. A very small back-room on the same floor was occupied by five persons (man, wife, and three children) at a rental of 4/6 per week.

For all these people there was only one W.C. and one water-tap. The water-cistern (from which all the tenants drew their water) formed the top of the W.C., with which it was directly connected for flushing purposes.

B Street. In a house in this street a ground floor, consisting of two rooms, let for 18/- a week.

In another house three rooms on the ground floor let for 14/—a week. In a third house in the same street three rooms on the first floor let for 18/- a week; three rooms on the second floor for 16/- a week; and one room on the top floor for 8/- a week. In another very dirty house in the same street a floor consisting of three rooms actually let for 25/- a week!

C Street. Two small attics (only one of which had a fire-place) in a house in this street let for 8/- a week.

D Street. In this street a first floor (two rooms) let for 14/- a week; while in another house a first floor of three rooms let for 21/- per week.

E Street. In this case a first floor of two rooms let for 14/- a week, while a top floor, also of two rooms, let for 8/- a week.

It will thus be seen how tremendous a factor is the question of rent in the housing problem in Soho.

Happily the evils of overcrowding in the district are being partially met by the erection of blocks of "model" dwellings. These let readily, and, generally speaking,

the accommodation is good, although cases of overcrowding are by no means rare even here. Nor are they free, in some cases, from grave structural defects. In one block, for example, containing accommodation for a large number of families, the defects are exceedingly serious. There is only one entrance to the building, and this has to serve for exit as well. On entering the building a flight of steep wooden steps faces you, leading to the first floor of the building, and from this narrow passages diverge to right and left, some leading by other steps (in each case a narrow wooden staircase) to the top of the building, which consists altogether of six floors. Should a fire occur at the bottom of the building a serious disaster would in all probability result, and this is by no means an unlikely contingency, inasmuch as the whole of the front ground-floor is let out in shops.

Still, speaking generally, in point of cleanliness and convenience these dwellings are infinitely superior to the ordinary tenements of the district, but they certainly have not solved the difficult problem of rent which, after all, lies at the root of the evil of overcrowding. *

* In the above "block" of buildings, for example, the rents are as follows:

Single rooms (by no means large)	6/- per week
Two small back rooms	7/6 „ „
Three small back rooms	10/- „ „
Two front rooms	10/- „ „
Two front rooms and one back room	16/- „ „

In another similar block in Soho the rents are as follows:

Two rooms	8/6 per week.
Three rooms	10/- „ „

It may be interesting to compare these with rents in similar buildings in other districts. In the Peabody Buildings, for example, the rents are as follows:

	One room.	2 rooms.	3 rooms.
Shadwell, E.	2/- to 2/3	3/3 to 3/6	4/3 to 4/6
Southwark Street, S.E.	3/-	4/3 to 4/9	5/3 to 5/9

CHAPTER V

RESULTS OF OVERCROWDING

If now we turn from the *facts* of overcrowding to the *results*, the seriousness of the problem is at once realized. It is probable that no adequate statement of these results is possible, inasmuch as many of the most serious of them elude direct observation; but—leaving out of view, for the moment, the disastrous moral results—it is still possible in some measure to estimate them.

I. Longevity.

A not uninteresting clue is suggested by a comparison—such as I have given in the Appendix—of the ages of the people in different localities. In the Tables referred to* it will be found that I have taken the number and percentages of persons of sixty years and upwards in various districts in London, and the results of the series of comparisons carried out on that basis are certainly striking. For example, in the Strand Sanitary Area (which, it will be remembered, includes Soho) the number of persons—male and female—of sixty years and upwards,

* See Appendix VII.

represents $5\frac{87}{100}$% of the total population of the area, as against $8\frac{1}{4}$% in St. George's, Hanover Square; $7\frac{1}{4}$% in Kensington; $5\frac{1}{3}$% in St. George-the-Martyr, Southwark; $5\frac{3}{4}$% in St. Luke's, City Road; $6\frac{1}{20}$% in St. George's-in-the-East; $6\frac{17}{20}$% in St. Saviour's, Southwark; and $6\frac{2}{5}$% which is the average for all London.

It will thus be seen that in the matter of longevity Soho compares unfavourably with every district but two in the foregoing list. The difference so far as the other industrial districts are concerned, it is true, is only fractional; but as between Soho and the wealthy districts of the West it is very perceptible. In every district but one (*i.e.*, St. Saviour's, Southwark) it will be noticed that women have a distinct advantage over men.

II. Rate of Mortality (General).

A much more startling proof of the disastrous physical results of overcrowding appears when we examine the mortality statistics for various districts. That the two results are intimately related would appear from this, that every increase in the density of population, as between different districts, is followed by a proportionate increase in the rate of mortality. The following Table, which I quote from the last Report (1894) of the Medical Officer of Health for London, will make this clear:—

Table showing the Relation between Overcrowding and Mortality.

Proportion of total population living more than two persons in a room (in tenements of less than five rooms).	Death-rate per 1000 "All Causes".
Districts with under 10 per cent	12.71
" " 10 to 15 " "	15.68
" " 15 to 20 " "	17.07
" " 20 to 25 " "	18.09
" " 25 to 30 " "	19.45
" " 30 to 35 " "	20.83
" " over 35 " "	21.85

If, however, we split up further (as it will be seen I have done in the Tables given in the Appendix * and compare the rate of mortality in different sanitary areas, a similar result appears. For example, in the years 1885—'93 the death-rate per thousand † in the Strand Sanitary Area (including Soho) was 30.1 per cent., as against 18.8 per cent. in St. George's, Hanover Square; 18.3 in Paddington; 19.0 in Kensington; and 14.4 in Hampstead; while the figures for 1894 (the latest available) although better all round, show a precisely similar relative difference. If, again, we turn to the industrial districts in East and South London the comparison, it will be seen, is still singularly unfavourable to the West Central district. § Indeed, taking the entire period 1885—'94 it appears that, with the single exception of St. George's-in-the-East (where, however, the difference is very slight), the Strand Sanitary Area has a higher

* See Appendix VIII.

† In each case the "corrected" and not the "crude" death-rate is given.

§ See Appendix VIII.

general death-rate than any other district in London; while as compared with the wealthy districts that immediately surround it, its rate of mortality is extremely high.

III. Deaths from Phthisis.

If, moreover, instead of taking the general death-rate (*i.e.*, deaths from all causes), we examine the deaths from phthisis, an even more serious result appears. The close and unhappy relation that exists between this terrible disease and overcrowding is shown in the following Table:

Table showing the Deaths from Phthisis in Proportion to Overcrowding.

Proportion of total population living more than two persons in a room (in tenements of less than five rooms).	Deaths from "Phthisis" Rate per 1000.
Districts with under 10 per cent.	1.07
" " 10 to 15 " "	1.38
" " 15 to 20 " "	1.57
" " 20 to 25 " "	1.81
" " 25 to 30 " "	2.11
" " 30 to 35 " "	2.26
" " over 35 " "	2.46

If, however, instead of dealing with general areas, as above, we compare the returns for separate sanitary areas, the following results appear:*

I. Table showing the Deaths from Phthisis in (α) Soho, and (β) All London, in 1894.

Sanitary Area.	Deaths from Phthisis. Rate per 1000 living.
Strand (including St. Anne, Soho)	3.2
All London	1.7

* These figures appear to me to be so important that I have inserted them in the text instead of relegating them to the Appendix.

II. Table showing the Deaths from Phthisis in (α) Soho, and (β) the Wealthy Districts of the West, in 1894.

Sanitary Area.	Deaths from Phthisis Rate per 1000 living.
Strand (including St. Anne, Soho)	3.2
St. George's, Hanover Square	1.3
Paddington	1.3
Kensington	1.5
Hampstead	0.9

III. Table showing the Deaths from Phthisis in (α) Soho, and (β) in the Most Overcrowded Districts in other Parts of London, in 1894.

Sanitary Area.	Deaths from Phthisis. Rate per 1000 living
Strand (including St. Anne, Soho)	3.2
St. Giles-in-the-Fields	3.1
St. Saviour's, Southwark	2.9
St. George-the-Martyr, Southwark	2.8
St. Luke, City Road	2.8
Whitechapel	2.6
Holborn	2.4
Limehouse	2.4
St. George's-in-the-East	2.3
Clerkenwell	2.3
Bermondsey	2.2

It is evident, therefore, that this terrible disease—the most terrible, probably, of all the physical results of overcrowding—is more fatally prevalent in Soho than in any other district in London, while the contrast between

Soho and the wealthy neighbouring districts is most painfully marked.

IV. Infant Mortality.

I turn now to another test of the serious physical results of overcrowding, *viz.*, the rate of Infant Mortality.

In 1894 there were in London, according to the official returns, 18,667 deaths of children under one year of age, showing a proportion of 143 deaths per thousand births. Now if we analyze these figures and compare the rate of infant mortality in different sanitary areas—as I have done in the tables given in the Appendix *—the result is certainly noteworthy, although, of course, too much reliance must not be placed upon figures that relate to one year only. A reference to those tables, however, will show that in 1894 the deaths of children under one year of age in the Strand (Soho) Sanitary Area amounted to 179 per 1000 births. That is to say, the rate of infant mortality was 36 per 1000 higher in Soho than the average for all London, and 64 per 1000 higher than that of the neighbouring district of St. George's, Hanover Square; while (if we exclude Holborn where the rate of infant mortality is virtually identical—*i.e.*, 1 per 1000 higher than Soho) it is exceeded only in two districts, *viz.*, St. George-the-Martyr, Southwark; and St. George's-in-the-East.

V. Risk of Infection.

One other serious result of overcrowding remains to be mentioned; and that is the increased liability to infection

* See Appendix IX.

for which it is responsible, and the extreme difficulty of securing anything like efficient disinfection where outbreaks of fever or small-pox or other zymotic diseases occur. It is true that under the Public Health Act of 1891 local authorities are required to provide, free of charge, accommodation for temporary shelter for the members of families whose homes are being disinfected; but such accommodation is extremely limited,* while the poor can rarely be prevailed upon to use it. It is difficult to estimate the full extent of the difference which overcrowding makes in the spread of disease, but some idea of it may be gathered from the following table, which gives the death-rates from the principal zymotic diseases, † and the percentages of overcrowding, in certain selected districts, in 1894.

Sanitary Area.	Proportion of Overcrowding (Percentage of Total Population).	Death-Rate per 1000 from Principal Zymotic Diseases, 1894.
Hampstead	15	1.38
St. George's, Hanover Square	19	1.40
Strand (including St. Anne, Soho)	42	2.68
St. George's-in-the-East	55	4.95

If, instead of dealing with one year, we take the figures

* In 1894, for example (I quote from the recently published Report of the Medical Officer for London) the total accommodation provided by the Strand Sanitary authorities consisted of three rooms and a lavatory in Little Chapel Street, Soho, while the population of the area was 25,122. In Marylebone (population 142,404) accommodation was provided for four families; while in St. Pancras (population 234,379) four rooms were provided.

† *I.e.*, small-pox, measles, scarlet fever, diphtheria, whooping-cough, and fever.

for the previous nine years, the result, as the following table will show, is practically the same:—

Sanitary Area.	Proportion of Overcrowding (Percentage of Total Population).	Death-rate per 1000 from Principal Zymotic Diseases, 1885—93.
Hampstead	15	1.32
St. George's, Hanover Square	19	1.70
Strand (including St. Anne, Soho)	42	2.49
St. George's-in-the-East	55	4.62

CHAPTER VI

REMEDIES FOR OVERCROWDING

I HAVE now said enough to show how incalculably serious is this problem of overcrowding, not only in Soho and the immediately surrounding districts, but also in every industrial district in London. It may be well, before leaving the subject, to consider very briefly the question of remedies. It may be admitted at once that what is urgently needed is not so much further legislation as the vigorous and efficient administration of existing sanitary laws. In this respect, undoubtedly, we have made considerable progress in recent years, but very much more remains to be done before our system of sanitary inspection will be anything like perfect. It is undeniable that given efficient administration of existing sanitary laws many of the most serious features of the problem would at once disappear, or, at least, be considerably modified. But efficient administration is impossible without adequate inspection, and this is precisely where we have hitherto failed. In 1894, for example (I quote from the latest available returns), there were only 219 sanitary inspectors for the whole of London, and of these 8 were employed temporarily; while for the whole of West, and West

Central London (including eight separate sanitary areas) there were only 43.

The following table will show the number of sanitary inspectors in each sanitary division in West, and West Central London, and the average number of inhabited houses assigned—on the principle of an equal division—to each:

Sanitary District.	No. of Sanitary Inspectors.			No. of Inhabited Houses to each Inspector.	No. of Inhabitants to each Inspector.
	Permanent.	Temporary.	Total.		
Paddington	3		3	4,824	39,282
St. George's, Hanover Square	3		3	3,734	26,121
Kensington	7		7*	3,155	23,758
St. Pancras	9		9	2,724	26,042
St. Marylebone	6	2	8	1,923	17,800
St. James, Westminster	2		2	1,296	12,497
St. Giles-in-the-Fields	5		5	746	7,956
Strand	6		6	358	4,187
All London	211	8	219	2,505	19,320

Now it must be obvious, even to the least initiated person, that a staff represented by the foregoing figures is altogether insufficient to meet the heavy demands of sanitary inspection in the districts referred to, especially when it is considered that the least overcrowded of these districts (*i.e.*, St. George's, Hanover Square) has 19 per cent. of its total population living under crowded conditions. And this will become even more evident when

* In addition to these there are two female inspectors for the inspection of work-shops and laundries, and two street inspectors are also employed.

it is remembered that "domestic workshops", which abound in certain districts of the West (*e.g.*, in Soho) and which greatly aggravate the evils of overcrowding, are excluded from the sanitary provisions of the Factory and Workshop Acts, the sanitary liability in respect of them having been transferred by the Act of 1891 to the local authority acting through its sanitary officers. In certain districts (*e.g.*, St. Marylebone, and Soho) the duties are subdivided, and one officer is set apart for the inspection of workshops and the visitation of the homes of outworkers. The arrangement is an admirable one in principle, but when it is remembered that in St. Marylebone there are nearly 4000 workshops and workplaces, and that in Soho an exceedingly large proportion of the houses are used in this way, the utter inadequacy of the arrangements for inspection at once becomes apparent. Once more let me say that I am fully alive to the great improvements in our local administrative machinery that have taken place in recent years, but in view of all the evidence before us it can hardly be questioned that we are still a very long way from the goal of administrative efficiency.

One other point. I have already shown that so far as Soho and the industrial districts immediately surrounding it are concerned, the problem of overcrowding is largely one of rent. This is a question which, since the workers have no option but are compelled, under existing conditions, to live in the district, must sooner or later be faced. It represents a social, as well as economic, fact of the utmost importance. Meantime, however, it may well be asked whether the difficulty is quite insuperable even under existing circumstances, and whether it is not possible for

wealthy individuals or philanthropic syndicates (or even the London County Council), to do for Soho and the other industrial districts of the West what the Peabody Trustees and others have done for other parts of London? I have already shown * how unfavourably the rents of existing blocks of "model" dwellings in Soho compare with those of the Peabody buildings. It only remains to add that in 1895 the death-rate of the Peabody buildings was nearly 2.0 per 1000 below the general death-rate of London, while the rate of infant mortality was 14.7 per 1000 lower than the average for all London.

* See page 44.

PART II—INDUSTRIAL

CHAPTER I

INVERTEBRATE CHARACTER OF THE DISTRICT

In attempting an analysis of the industrial conditions that prevail in Soho and its environs, one is immediately impressed by the invertebrate character of the district, and by its remarkable deficiency in what I may call local identity.

I. Foreign Population.

The population, for the most part, is an ever-shifting one, with a large foreign element in it which has been attracted thither chiefly by the opportunities which the food and dress trades of the West offer to foreign workers; and, in a lesser degree, by the tradition which has made Soho for over two centuries the favourite resort of foreign political refugees. The importance of this foreign element as a factor in the social and industrial life of the district will be seen at once when I mention that it forms over eleven per cent. of the entire population of the district—a proportion which, as the following comparative statement

will show, is exceeded by but two other districts in London, *viz.*, Whitechapel and St. George's-in-the-East, which are notorious as comprising the English "Ghetto" of the Jews:

Table showing the proportion of foreigners in different districts.

Registration Districts.	Proportion of Foreigners to Total Population.
Whitechapel	24 %
St. George's-in-the-East	16 „
SOHO (St. James and St. Anne)	11½ „
St. Giles-in-the-Fields	5 „
Strand	4½ „
St. Marylebone	3 „
St. Pancras	2½ „
Holborn (including Clerkenwell)	2½ „
Stepney	2 „
Bethnal Green	1⅓ „
Shoreditch	1⅓ „
Poplar	1 „
St. Olave, Southwark	¾ „
St. Saviour's, „	⅜ „

It is noteworthy, however, that while Whitechapel and St. George's-in-the-East have a larger foreign element than Soho, it is in those districts almost exclusively Jewish; whereas in Soho, and in the West generally, it partakes of a much more general and cosmopolitan character. This may be seen at once by a reference to the analysis of the foreign population of the West which I have given in the Tables at the end of this volume. *

* See Appendix X.

II. Deficiency in Artisan Labour.

Then, again, there is in Soho no large artisan class, nor, indeed, any predominant class of unskilled workmen, such as the dock and riverside labourers, and costermongers of the East, or the wharf labourers and others of the South. The artisan class proper forms only 10.1 per cent. of the population in Soho, as compared with

35.4 per cent. in Shoreditch
29.8 „ „ „ Bethnal Green
13.3 „ „ „ Whitechapel, St. George's-in-the-East, and Stepney.
26.1 „ „ „ Poplar
25.1 „ „ „ Battersea.

The most significant industrial fact so far as Soho and the neighbouring districts are concerned is the remarkable number of persons employed on dress. In Soho, for example, they represent 24 per cent. of the population as compared with 2½ per cent. elsewhere in Central London. * The remainder of the population represents a great variety of trades, including building, painting, French polishing, etc., not one of which (with the possible exception of the heterogeneous list of workers included under the heading of "lodging and coffee-house" keepers and employés) employs more than three per cent. of the population. The neighbouring parish of St. Giles-in-the-Fields (immediately adjoining Soho) has even less individuality. There the principal trades are building and road service, not one of which employs more than three per cent. of

* This does not include St. Pancras and St. Marylebone which belong for registration purposes to North London.

the population. In another closely adjoining district (a little to the north of Soho), to which I referred in Part I of this volume, a similar state of things prevails. There, as in Soho, a large number of persons is employed on dress, but the occupations of the rest are bewilderingly varied. In a census which I took last year * of a number of streets in the immediate neighbourhood of Fitzroy Square, I discovered some facts which threw a startling light on the conditions of industrial life in that district. For instance, the first eighteen persons visited (all of them, save one, heads of families) represented no fewer than sixteen different trades and occupations. The next seventeen represented thirteen different trades; a third group of nineteen persons represented fourteen trades; and a fourth group of ten persons actually represented ten different occupations or trades. Eighty-eight men who were visited in one street represented upwards of forty different occupations!

But the true character of the industrial conditions that prevail in Soho and the central districts of the West will be seen even more clearly in the following analysis of the trades of the districts, which I quote from the latest volume of Mr. Charles Booth's invaluable work. †

The table, it should be noted, refers only to families, the *heads* of which are engaged in the trades referred to, and does not include the total number of persons employed in the trades. It should also be noticed that the percentages given represent percentages of the *entire trade* in London and not of the population of the district.

* 1895.

† *Life and Labour of the People.* Volume VII.

Table showing the Total Number of Persons (and trade percentages) represented by *heads of families* engaged in various trades in the Strand, Soho, and St. Giles' districts.

	Trade.	Total No. of Persons represented by Heads of Families.	Percentage of entire trade in London.
Strand, Soho, and St. Giles.	Tailors	8,274	9
	Lodging and Coffee-house Keepers	3,349	7.8
	Brewers and mineral-water manufacturers	712	5.3
	Publicans	2,655	4.3
	Warehousemen and messengers	3,260	4.3
	Trimmings, artificial flowers, etc.	826	3.7
	General shopkeepers. ...	1,014	3.3
	Costers or street-sellers ...	771	3.2
	Boot and shoe-makers ...	2,892	3
	Shirtmakers...	384	2.2
	Bakers and confectioners...	1,154	2.1
	General labourers	3,958	2
	Cabmen, coachmen, and busmen	2,714	1.9
	Dressmakers and milliners.	787	1.8
	Carmen and carters... ...	1,698	1.5
	Machinists	87	1.3
	Clerks	2,019	1.1

While therefore the Strand, Soho, and St. Giles district has a far higher percentage of tailors (reckoning by heads of families) than any other district in London (with the

exception, of course, of the St. George's-in-the-East and Whitechapel district, where the percentage is nearly double) its general invertebrate character is shown in this: that it reaches a percentage of 5 and upwards in but two other industries, *i.e.*, brewers and mineral-water manufacturers, and lodging and coffee-house keepers.

If moreover, we compare it in this respect with other districts, its remarkable deficiency in what I may call industrial identity becomes conspicuously apparent:

Table showing the Number of Principal Trades (including those only which represent 5 per cent. and upwards of the entire trade in London) in various districts.

Registration District.	No. of Trades representing 5 per cent. and upwards of Total Trade in London.
Lambeth	29
Islington	28
Wandsworth	24
Camberwell	19
St. Saviour's, Southwark	19
Mile End and Stepney	19
Hackney	17
St. Pancras	14
Greenwich	13
St. Olave, Southwark	12
Fulham	12
St. George's-in-the-East and Whitechapel	11
Poplar	11
St. Marylebone, and Hampstead	10
Bethnal Green	8
Woolwich	5
Shoredith	4
Holborn*	4
STRAND, SOHO, AND ST. GILES	3

* Including Clerkenwell.

The comparative value of the above statement is, of course, appreciably affected by differences in the size and population of the districts compared, but when the utmost allowance is made for this, it suggests a valuable and interesting clue to the general industrial characteristics of the districts referred to.

An even more suggestive and valuable clue is offered by a comparison of the total number of persons (represented by heads of families) employed in various trades, in proportion to population, in different districts.

In the following table (which is based upon a careful analysis of the most recent returns published by Mr. Charles Booth) I give the results of such a comparison made between typical industrial districts in different parts of London.

Table showing the Number of Persons (*i.e.*, Proportion of Population) represented by heads of families employed in various trades in different districts. *

Trades.	St. George's-in-the-East and Whitechapel.	St. Saviour, Southwark.	St. Olave, Southwark.	Strand, Soho, and St. Giles.
	Perc. of Population.	Perc. of Population.	Perc. of Population.	Perc. of Population.
Tailors	14¾	1⅓	¾	8
Bootmakers	6⅓	2½	1⅕	2¾
Dressmakers and milliners	¾	1	⅔	¾
Shirtmakers	—	½	⅜	—
Trimmings, artificial flowers, etc.	1	—	—	¾

* Merchants, shopkeepers, etc., are excluded from this list, and only those trades are included which represent at least ⅓ per cent. of the total population of the district.

Trades.	St. George's-in-the-East and Whitechapel.	St. Saviour, Southwark.	St. Olave, Southwark.	Strand, Soho, and St. Giles
	Perc. of Population.	Perc. of Population.	Perc. of Population.	Perc. of Population.
Brewers and mineral-water manufacturers	—	½	—	⅔
Tobacco manufacturers	3	—	—	—
Bakers and Confectioners	1¼	1¼	1¾	1
Publicans	1¾	1½	1⅔	2½
Lodging and Coffee-house keepers	1	⅔	½	3
Costers and Street sellers	2	1¼	—	¾
Clerks	1	3	2⅔	2
Cabmen, busmen, etc.	1¼	3¼	1	2½
Carmen and Carters	4	4⅓	5	1½
Railway service and labour	¾	1	1¾	—
Seamen	½	—	1¼	—
Lightermen	1	—	3	—
Dock and wharf service and labour	5	1	6	—
Warehousemen and messengers ...	1¾	3¼	3½	3
General labourers	5⅓	5	8¾	3¾
Factory Labourers	—	½	—	—
Engine drivers and artisans	⅔	1⅓	2	⅔

No more convincing proof of the invertebrate character of the Soho district could be required than that which the above comparison affords.

CHAPTER II

CASUAL AND "SEASON" LABOUR

ANOTHER disastrous feature of the industrial life of Soho—a direct result of the unrestricted luxury, and worse than useless extravagance that characterize the wealthy neighbouring districts—is an exceptional, and quite incalculable, amount of "season" or casual work, which terribly intensifies the pressure of poverty in the district. Nearly all the trades, indeed, are "season" trades; and, to make matters worse, the "London Season" attracts to West London a vast army of casual workers for whom no adequate permanent provision is possible.

In a previous chapter * I gave some figures bearing on this point which were the result of my own investigations in a particular district. It may be well to supplement those, which referred chiefly to men, by some figures compiled by Mr. Charles Booth, which refer exclusively to women.

In Central London (which includes all Soho), "widows and families," whose earnings are "casual" form no less than 26.4 per cent. of the entire population, as against—

10.7 per cent. in Bethnal Green
8.8 „ „ in Whitechapel, St. George's-in-the-East, and Stepney, and
8.1 „ „ in Poplar.

* See Part I, pp. 10—11.

If we take the case of unmarried women who are casual earners, the difference, if not so striking, is still important. These represent—

8.5 per cent. of the population in Central London
6.9 „ „ „ „ „ „ Bethnal Green
7.6 „ „ „ „ „ „ Whitechapel, St. George's-in-the-East, and Stepney
5.9 „ „ „ „ „ „ Poplar.

A considerable proportion of casual or "season" work is naturally to be expected in a district that is specially devoted to the dress trades, but West Central London suffers even more severely in this respect than other similar districts (*e.g.*, Whitechapel, and the tailoring districts of St. George's-in-the-East) from the fact that it is so largely restricted to the highest branches of the dress trades, and these are naturally more liable to "seasonal" fluctuations than the "slop," or cheap work that is done in East London.

The food trades of the West offer another illustration of this increased liability to "seasonal fluctuations." For example, even bakers, whose work elsewhere in London is practically constant, suffer acutely in West London from the effects of the "London Season," and are comparatively slack for three or four months in the year (*e.g.*, from August till November). If to these we add the large army of "season hands"—packers, porters, etc.—who find temporary employment in the large business houses of the West, the seriousness of the problem of casual labour in Soho, and the industrial districts which immediately adjoin it, at once becomes apparent. I am well aware that the problem of season trades is an old

and intricate problem. It bristles everywhere with difficulties that appear to be insuperable. And yet I am persuaded that the evil is remediable to a much greater extent than is commonly allowed. It often largely turns upon a question of custom, or fashion, or prejudice. In the West End, at least, this is actually the case, and it would be interesting to discover how far it is true of other districts also. Leaving dress, for example, entirely out of the question—although in the West this is by far the predominant trade, and one that would certainly admit of some measure of reform—it would be interesting to discover how much of painting and other work that is now crowded into short and ruinously busy "seasons," could be more evenly distributed. I have not space in which to press the question, much as I should like to see it authoritatively answered: I merely suggest it as a problem in social ethics, or practical Christianity.

CHAPTER III

THE PROPORTION OF THE SEXES

ANOTHER noteworthy feature of the industrial life of the West is the relatively high percentage of female heads of families. In Soho, for example, they represent a higher proportion of the population than in any other part of London: *viz.*, 5.8 % as compared with—

4.3% in Shoreditch
4.1 „ „ Bethnal Green
3.9 „ „ Whitechapel, St. George's-in-the-East, and Stepney.
3.7 „ „ Poplar.

Of these the proportion of wage-earners is:

4.9% in Central London (which includes Soho)
3.8 „ „ Shoreditch
3.6 „ „ Bethnal Green
3.3 „ „ Whitechapel, St. George's-in-the-East, and Stepney, and
3.0 „ „ Poplar. *

* The extent to which women are family wage-earners is not generally realized. For example, of the 82,000 heads of families engaged in the dress trades of London, no less than 30,000 are females. This proportion is the more striking when it is remembered that in cases where women keep their husbands the man is nevertheless returned as *head of the family*.

These figures are the more remarkable in view of the interesting sociological fact that, speaking generally, women form a distinct minority of the population of industrial districts (and this despite the fact that in certain districts, *e.g.*, Soho and Whitechapel, which are the special centres of women's trades, an entirely opposite result might be expected); whereas in wealthy districts they largely preponderate. *

In the civil parish of St. Anne, Soho, for example, which is remarkable as the centre of the West End tailoring trade, there are actually 173 more males than females.

The following tables will show the distribution of the sexes in various districts.

I. Table showing the Excess of *Females* over Males in various districts.

Registration District.	Total No. of *Females* in excess of Males.	Percentage of *Females* in excess of Males.
Hampstead	14,862	55½
Kensington	34,874	53
Paddington	20,752	42¾
St. Marylebone	17,660	28½
(The increase here is most marked in the wealthy districts.)		
St. George's, Hanover Square...	12,414	20⅔
Hackney..	18,920	18
Fulham	14,766	17
Islington..	17,623	11⅔
Chelsea	5,015	11
St. Pancras	7,659	6⅘
(The increase here is chiefly in the wealthy districts, *e.g.*, Regent's Park. In the poorer districts, *e.g.*, Somers Town, the sexes are practically equal.)		

* In considering this question allowance must, of course, be made for the large number of female domestic servants employed in the wealthy districts.

St. Giles-in-the-Fields	1,082	$5\frac{3}{5}$
(Here again the increase is due to the wealthy districts, *e.g.*, St. George's, Bloomsbury. In St. Giles *South*, there are nearly 700 less women than men.)		
Shoreditch	2,429	4
Bethnal Green	2,516	4
Holborn (including Clerkenwell)	1,912	$2\frac{3}{4}$
Westminster (Soho)	90 (less than)	$\frac{1}{2}$
(The sub-district of St. Anne, Soho, has 173 less women than men.)		

II. Table showing the Excess of *Males* over Females in various districts.

Registration District.	Total No. of *Males* in excess of Females.	Percentage of *Males* in excess of Females.
Whitechapel	3,408	$9\frac{1}{2}$
Stepney	1,430	$5\frac{1}{9}$
Poplar	1,856	$2\frac{1}{4}$
St. George's-in-the-East	397	$1\frac{4}{5}$
St. Olave, Southwark	1,162	$1\frac{2}{3}$
St. Saviour, „	611	$\frac{3}{5}$

It will suggest the contrast even more clearly if we compare two closely adjacent districts in the West, *i.e.*, a wealthy district (Mayfair), and an industrial district (St. Anne, Soho):—

Mayfair has 40 per cent. *more* females than males
St. Anne, Soho, has 3 per cent. *less* „ „ „

And this despite the fact that St. Anne, Soho, is the centre of the West End tailoring trade.

CHAPTER IV

CONDITION AS TO MARRIAGE

In view of the foregoing facts it will be interesting to compare the condition of the population as to marriage, not only in Soho, but also in other industrial districts. It will be obvious that such a comparison is closely related to those already given. To make the comparison strictly just I select the two most overcrowded districts in East and South London. Taking the total number of persons of twenty years and upwards in each district, the following result appears:

Table showing the condition as to marriage of all Persons of *20 Years and upwards* in various districts.

Registration District.	Single.	Married.
Soho (St. James and St. Anne)	41½%	58½%
St. Saviour, Southwark	25⅓%	74⅔%
St. George's-in-the-East	23⅓%	76⅔%
Average for all London	31¼%	68¾%

If we raise the age standard and compare the number of persons of 35 years and upwards in the same districts, an equally remarkable result appears:

Table showing the condition as to marriage of all persons of 35 *Years and upwards* in various districts.

Registration District.	Single.	Married.
Soho (St. James and St. Anne) ...	20⅓%	79⅔%
St. Saviour, Southwark	11½%	88½%
St. George's-in-the-East	9⅔%	90⅓%
Average for all London	14 %	86 %

The difference under both standards of comparison is certainly remarkable, and while the figures for Soho may be affected in some small degree by the more prosperous parts of the St. James's parish, this in itself is an altogether inadequate explanation of so great a discrepancy. The true explanation of the difference, I venture to suggest, is to be sought, first, in exceptional industrial conditions; and, secondly, in the influence (subtle, but powerful) of the surrounding wealthy districts, in which, as the following figures will show, an even more marked abstention from marriage prevails.

Table showing the condition as to marriage of all persons of (α) 20 years and upwards; and (β) 35 years and upwards, in St. George's, Hanover Square, and Kensington.

	20 years and upwards.		35 years and upwards.	
	Single.	Married.	Single.	Married.
St. George's, Hanover Square	43⅝%	56⅙%	22⅔%	77⅓%
Kensington	44¼%	55¾%	22¾%	77¼%
Average for all London...	31¼%	68¾%	14 %	86 %

II. Proportion of Early Marriages.

It is gratifying to find that the proportion of early marriages (*i.e.*, of persons under twenty years of age) is

extremely insignificant.* The following table gives the proportion in each of the foregoing districts:

* Considerable misunderstanding appears to exist in the popular mind as to the prevalence of early marriages, especially in the industrial districts, and the number of such marriages is often greatly exaggerated. It may be interesting to supplement the above figures (which refer, it should be noted, to marriages of persons under twenty years of age) by percentages relating to the marriages of *minors* (*i.e.*, persons under twenty-one years of age) in the whole of London during the last half century.

Table showing the proportion (*i.e.*, percentage of total marriages) of marriages of *minors* in London during the years 1851—'94.

Date.	Percentage of Total Marriages.	
	Males.	Females.
1851—60	2.77	11.95
1861—70	3.56	14.56
1871—80	4.71	16.90
1881—90	5.53	18.91
1891	4.86	17.45
1892	5.15	17.67
1893	4.75	16.80
1894	4.69	16.80

In this respect (as the appended table will show) London compares very favourably with the rest of England; a fact that is no doubt explained by the increased cost of living in the former.

Table showing the proportion (*i.e.*, percentage of total marriages) of marriages of *minors* in England and Wales during the years 1851—'93.

Date.	Percentage of Total Marriages.	
	Males.	Females.
1851—60	5.70	17.99
1861—70	6.82	20.37
1871—80	7.96	22.03
1881—90	6.81	20.75
1891	5.90	19.01
1892	5.87	18.76
1893	5.59	18.08

If these figures are compared with the percentages given above, it will at once be seen that the marriages of persons under twenty years of age, form an extremely small proportion of the total number of marriages of minors.

Table showing the proportion of early marriages (*i.e.*, of persons under *twenty* years of age) in various districts.

Registration District.	Total No. of persons (Married) under 20 years of age.			Percentage of total Marriages.
	Males.	Females.	Total.	
St. George's, Hanover Square	16	106	122	$\frac{1}{4}$
Kensington	29	142	171	$\frac{1}{3}$
Soho	7	42	49	$\frac{1}{3}$
St. Saviour, Southwark	69	321	390	$\frac{1}{2}$
St. George's-in-the-East	14	88	102	$\frac{1}{2}$
Average for all London ...	950	4,672	5,622	$\frac{1}{8}$

III. Proportion of Widows.

I have already referred* to the relatively high percentage of female heads of families in Soho. If, pushing our analysis a little further, we deal simply with "widows," it will be seen that the proportion is again higher in Soho than in the east and south of London:

Table showing the number and proportion of "widows" in various industrial districts.

Registration District.	Total No. of Widows.	Proportion (Percentage) of Total Married Women.
Soho	1,778	$23\frac{1}{3}$
St. George's-in-the-East...	2,114	$20\frac{1}{2}$
St. Saviour, Southwark...	8,721	$19\frac{1}{5}$
Average for all London	186,479	$20\frac{2}{3}$

* See page 68.

CHAPTER V

INDUSTRIAL PARASITES

ANOTHER, by no means inconsiderable, factor which confronts us in an analysis of the industrial life of Soho and the immediately adjacent districts, is the strangely heterogeneous army of "touts," "loafers," and "casuals," who are attracted by the wealth of the West End, and who succeed, by almost infinite resource, in eking out a sort of parasitic existence, feeding upon the follies and vices and pleasures of wealthy West London. Included in this innumerable army are hotel, theatrical, and music-hall employés (*e.g.*, waiters, kitchen-porters, theatrical "supers," ballet-girls, chorus-singers, wig-makers, etc.); cab "touts" and "runners" (who literally swarm in the squares and other wealthy thoroughfares of the West); sandwichmen (for whom the numerous theatres, music-halls, art-galleries, exhibitions, etc. of the West End provide ready but miserable employment *), and "dossers" of every description—a pitiable and parasitic host who seriously affect the moral as well as the industrial life of the district.

* Of the 36 theatres in London, no fewer than 29 are in West and West Central London; while of the 16 principal music-halls in London no less than 8 are situated in the West.

These "dossers" are drawn from all classes of society, and represent almost every conceivable type of character—from the professional man who has fallen through drink and dishonesty (sometimes, but rarely, through sheer misfortune), to the unskilled, seasoned loafer whose philosophic savagery is abundantly satisfied with the price of his "kip" and one "square" meal per day; and who, when even these fail, falls back in stoical equanimity upon a tighter clasp of his belt, and an extra "screw" of kerbstone twist.

It will give some idea of the nondescript character of these men when I mention that 144 "homeless men" who applied to the Soho Committee of the Charity Organization Society for assistance last winter (*i.e.*, from October 1895 to March 1896), represented—nominally, at least—nearly 70 different professions and trades. *

Their ages also vary greatly. While there is an increasing number of young men under twenty-five, the majority average from twenty-five to forty, while there are practically none over sixty. † Once past sixty they pass into the work-house. It is probable that at least one half of the men admitted into work-houses in West London Unions are drawn from the common lodging-houses of the district.

Of these common lodging-houses there are no fewer than 166 in West and West Central London alone. § The following table will show their distribution:

* See Appendix XI.

† Of the 144 men mentioned above, 17 were under 25, and 127 above 25 years of age.

§ I quote the figures for 1894.

Table showing the number and distribution of Common Lodging-houses in West and West Central London.

District.	Total No. of Common Lodging-houses.	Authorized No. of Lodgers.
Paddington	4	66
Kensington	33	960
Marylebone	22	881
St. Pancras	26	861
St. Giles-in-the-Fields ...	43	2,178
St. Martin's-in-the-Fields	6	225
Strand (including St. Anne, Soho)...	12	711
St. James	2	142
Holborn	18	725
	166	6,749

In addition to the above there are also 21 in Chelsea (with authorized accommodation for 827 lodgers), and 25 in Westminster (with authorized accommodation for 1,683 lodgers).

But these figures give an altogether inadequate idea of the actual numbers of this parasitic class in the West, inasmuch as very many of the men sleep in shelters and refuges that are not registered as common lodging-houses, and which therefore do not appear in the above list; while others, again, who infest the central districts of the West by day, regularly resort to common lodging-houses in other districts at night.

II. **Vagrants.**

Then, again, there must be added to these the relatively large number of vagrants who are attracted to West

London. It is noteworthy (as showing how powerfully the wealth of the West attracts this class) that of the total number of vagrants in London nearly one half are to be found in West London.

It may be interesting if I give the figures in each case for the past five years.

Table showing the number of Vagrants admitted to Casual Wards in (α) All London, and (β) West, and West Central London (excluding Fulham and Chelsea), on the 1st of January in each of the years 1891—'5.

(α) ALL LONDON.

Date.	Total Number of Vagrants admitted.
January 1st	
1891	754
1892	838
1893	769
1894	1,145
1895	1,211

(β) WEST, AND WEST CENTRAL LONDON.

1891	311
1892	334
1893	322
1894	483
1895	478

In some tables which appear in the Appendix to this volume I have shown the distribution of these vagrants in the different districts of West London. *

* See Appendix XII.

CHAPTER VI

GENERAL TRADES: (1) LAUNDRY WORK (2) CHARING

I COME now to a consideration of the condition of the workers in the more regular trades of Soho and the immediately surrounding districts.

I take, first, the case of women. These may be divided roughly into two general classes, *viz.*, skilled and unskilled. The former includes the workers in the various branches of the dress trades (*e.g.*, tailoresses, mantle-makers, dress-makers, etc.); while the latter includes the more casual and nondescript forms of labour (*e.g.*, charing, laundry-work, * and general factory work †).

The condition of the workers in each of these classes is exceedingly unsatisfactory. Work is extremely intermittent, and for the most part, badly paid; competition is severe—in the case of the older women, disastrous—while the hours of work (in the busy seasons especially) are often excessive.

Take, for example, the case of the women employed

* I have included all laundry workers under this head, although some branches of the trade should, perhaps, be regarded as skilled labour.

† A large number of women find temporary employment in the busy seasons at Messrs. Crosse and Blackwell's, and other factories in Soho.

in laundries. In the West (speaking generally) laundry-work is almost exclusively a workshop industry; the high rents, and absence of proper accommodation, chiefly accounting for this. This fact undoubtedly tends to an improvement in the condition of the workers, and to a better organization of the trade generally, but even then the lot of the workers is extremely unsatisfactory. The hours of work (even as sanctioned by the Factory and Workshop Act of 1895*) are excessive, the work itself extremely arduous and carried on under conditions that seriously injure the health of the workers (the temperature of the rooms being often above 80°), while the wages (leaving out of view the loss of work through slackness, which—owing to the "London season"—is necessarily frequent) are by no means high. In the washing branch of the trade, for example, the women get from 2/6 to 2/9 per day; while ironers earn from 3/- to 3/6. The following wages were paid in two typical West End laundries.†

"*A.*" In this laundry washers were paid at the rate of 2/6 per day, best ironers 3/6 per day; the "preparer," 3/- per day; while shirt ironers were paid at the rate of 1/3 to 1/6 per dozen. The wages book showed that in one week (in the beginning of April)

1	worker	had	earned	25/-
5	workers	„	„	20/- to 25/-
2	„	„	„	18/- to 20/-
12	„	„	„	15/- to 18/-
13	„	„	„	12/- to 15/-

* The hours allowed to women-workers in laundries by the Act of 1895 are 14 per day (*exclusive* of meal hours and absence from work), or 60 hours per week. But the Act does not apply to small hand-laundries.

† I quote from the Report of the Royal Commission on Labour.

6	workers	had	earned	10/- to 12/-
11	„	„	„	8/- to 10/-
7	„	„	„	6/- to 8/-
6	„	„	„	under 6/-

"*B.*" In this case children were employed as sorters at 6*d.* per day.

The "taker-out" (*i.e.*, at back of ironing machine)	received	1/- per day
The head-washer...	„	3/- „ „
Ordinary washers	„	2/6 „ „
The head-drier	„	2/6 „ „
Packers	„	2/- to 2/6 per day
Sorters	„	2/- to 2/6 „ „
Finery ironer	„	3/- per day
Shirt ironer	„	3/- „ „

The latter (*i.e.*, shirt ironers) were required to average 3 shirts and a collar per hour, for which the price charged to customers was 1/1.

Overtime is generally paid for at the rate of *3d.* per hour, but, frequently (when less than 3/- per day is earned), at the rate of *2d.* per hour.

Very much of the overtime (which is frequently prolonged until midnight)* is due to the inconsiderateness of the public, who make the most thoughtless and cruel demands. Many of the visitors at the West End hotels, for example, are in the habit of giving out work overnight, which has to be returned, ready for use, early next morning. Some of the hotels, however (*e.g.*, the Grand, Metropole, and First Avenue), are now furnished with

* In the Report (1893) of H.M. Inspector of Factories cases were reported of workers who were employed for three days and three nights at a stretch.

private laundries, and this may modify, to some extent, the evils of overtime. It is matter for very serious regret, however, that the Act of 1895, which brought laundries (with certain notable exceptions) for the first time under the provisions of the Workshop and Factory Acts, did not more seriously curtail the legal hours of work.

It is also difficult to understand why the smaller laundries (*i.e.*, hand-laundries) where the conditions of work are often much more injurious to the workers, should have been exempted from the provisions of the Act.* In this class of laundry the hours of work are often outrageously excessive, while the rooms, being small, are invariably overcrowded and full of steam. The wages in hand-laundries, however, are remarkably uniform, averaging from 2/6 to 2/9 per day, with (generally) an allowance of beer. In these laundries the workers are mostly married women, whereas in steam-laundries the women are as a rule much younger.

Of women, again, who pick up a precarious living by charing, there are a considerable number in Soho. The supply, indeed, in this, as in all forms of unskilled labour, is far in excess of the demand, and consequently wages, although fairly uniform, are often scandalously low. One case, for example—that of a woman who had to scrub and clean from half-past five in the morning until twelve at noon, for 8/2 a week—may be quoted as fairly representing the rate of pay of many of these casual workers, a large proportion of whom are married women with a bitter knowledge of the grip of hunger and rent.

* All laundries in which the only persons employed are members of the same family dwelling on the premises *with not more than two other persons*, are exempted from the Act.

CHAPTER VII

DRESSMAKING

But by far the majority of the women workers in Soho are employed in the dress trades of the West. Of these a few * are shirt and collar makers; a larger proportion dressmakers, mantlemakers, and milliners; while the great majority are tailoresses.

Some branches of these trades (I refer to the two latter divisions only) are fairly well paid, but all are season trades, and therefore the wages are exceedingly irregular. Take the dressmaking for example. A girl who has been an apprentice or improver, and is fairly clever at her work, can, if she applies at the right time (*e.g.*, at the end of March or the beginning of April), readily get on as a season hand at one or other of the large firms in the neighbourhood of Oxford Street, starting with wages of about eight shillings a week, In the case of a skilled work-woman the wages average fifteen or sixteen shillings per week. But the majority of them are season hands, and if they begin work, say, at the end of March, they may be kept busy until the end of August, with perhaps a few

* It is probable that there are not more than 500 shirt and collar makers in Soho and the immediately surrounding districts.

extra weeks between October and December; but these are uncertain. The intervals of slackness must be filled up as best they can.* In many of the West End houses the only permanent hands are the pupils, who pay a premium (generally about £20) to learn the trade, and who have the option of staying on as indoor hands when the apprenticeship is over, at a salary ranging from £8 to £20 a year, with board. But this system is rapidly dying out, chiefly because the excessive rents of the West make it impossible for exployers to spare the room.

The following figures (which refer to West End firms, and are quoted from the Report of the Labour Commission) may be interesting. It will be seen that they closely correspond with the figures already given.

Of 82 dressmakers of whom evidence was given by one witness,

24	received	8/-	per	week
12	„	10/-	„	„
7	„	12/-	„	„
14	„	14/-	„	„
13	„	16/-	„	„
11	„	18/-	„	„
1	„	20/-	„	„

"Fitters," of course, are much more highly paid, the head-fitter sometimes receiving as much as £250 a year with board and lodging.

Assistant bodice hands average from 8/- to 14/- per

* An interesting clue to the seasonal fluctuations in the dressmaking and millinery trades is afforded by some returns (relating to 12 firms) published by the Board of Trade. From these it appears that the staff of workers is reduced by over 50% in the slack seasons.

week,* while experienced bodice hands earn from 16/- to 18/- per week.

One firm in Regent Street (said to be "the best house in London"), pays its skirt hands from 17/- to 27/- per week. These rates, of course, apply to busy seasons only. The hours of work are generally from 8.30 to 7.30, with an hour, or an hour-and-a-half, for meals.

Then there are the machinists. This is a large industry. Those who work for the best dressmakers can earn from sixteen to twenty-four shillings per week, while in the heavier machine work, such as cloth mantles and tailoring, wages range from eighteen to thirty shillings a week.† This high rate of wages is naturally a powerful attraction, but the physical strain is severe, and few women can stand more than a few years of constant work without serious injury to their health.

So far I have dealt with the better paid work only; but in Soho and the surrounding districts much of the work is miserably underpaid. One well-known firm, for instance, that formerly employed a large number of mantle-makers at good wages, now procures many of its mantles from abroad, and employs the women chiefly in altering and fitting. This is done by piecework, and frequent deductions are made in the shape of fines. In other cases, women are paid as little as eightpence for making large ulsters, and then are required to find their own cotton.

* Food is rarely given in these cases, but occasionally dinner and tea are given.

† These figures, it must be remembered, refer only to busy seasons.

CHAPTER VIII

THE TAILORING TRADE

BUT it is in the tailoring trade of the West that the most serious evils exist, and inasmuch as this is the principal trade in Soho, and represents by far the majority of the workers (male and female) I propose to give it much more detailed and searching examination, giving the results of long and careful personal investigations, and including information supplied to me from entirely reliable private sources.

Few trades, probably, have had a darker history than the tailoring trades of London, and it may be questioned whether any have resisted more successfully the spirit of reform. That there have been great and obvious improvements in recent years—notably within the last five years—is undoubted;* but these have been accompanied by other internal changes which have seriously affected the position of the workers: while from a variety of causes

* It is unquestionable, for example, that there is far less drunkenness in the trade now than formerly; while the character of the workshops and the sanitary conditions under which the workers live have undergone steady improvement. How much, however, still remains to be done it will be the purpose of this chapter to show.

—some of which will presently appear—both the spirit and letter of the most important of recent reforms are constantly and easily evaded.

It is easy enough to account for this. The tailoring trade, to begin with, is sadly deficient (so far at least as the workers are concerned) in effective organization. This fact, in itself, is not surprising. The conditions of the trade are altogether unfavourable to organization. Work is extremely precarious, and restricted—in the West especially—to ruinously short seasons; while the advent of the Jews has seriously aggravated the evils of competition. But whatever the explanation, the fact of dis-organization remains. Out of 52,346 persons engaged in the tailoring trade in London (representing 18,253 males over 20 years of age) only 3,551 are members of Trade Societies.*

Domestic Workshops.

It must be remembered, moreover, that the tailoring trade is one of the few industries that have survived (to any considerable extent) the modern change—or revolution—in our industrial system: *i.e.*, from domestic workshop to factory. The trade, it is true, has not been altogether unaffected by the modern spirit: clothing factories have sprung up here and there (*e.g.*, in East London, and in several provincial towns), but these are restricted to "slop" or "contract" work. So far as the ordinary trade is concerned the only appreciable change has been a steady and widespread development which has substituted the small master, or "middleman", for the private worker.†

* *Life and Labour of the People*, Vol. VII.

† I have dealt elsewhere with the way in which the factory system of work (*i.e.*, sub-division of labour) has affected the West End trade. See p. 99.

A few West End firms, it is true, provide their own workshops, and this is undoubtedly, from every point of view, the most entirely satisfactory arrangement. But until the provision of such shops is made compulsory the number is not likely to be large, the extra accommodation needed entailing—owing to the exorbitant rents charged in the West—a very considerable additional expense. *

Private, or domestic, workshops may have certain small advantages in personal convenience to the worker, but these are a thousand times outweighed by obvious disadvantages which are almost too serious to admit of exaggeration.

To begin with, they are often shamefully overcrowded. This will be readily realised when I mention that in the West (Soho), the tailors' workshops are frequently private tenements of one or two rooms which are used not only as workrooms (in which four, five, six, or even more persons, of both sexes, may often be found working) but also as sleeping and living rooms for the tailor and his family. I have already, in a previous chapter, given illustrations of this overcrowding, but I will supplement the cases there given with one or two others.

One room, for example, of which the particulars are before me, was occupied by a man and his family (who used it as living and sleeping room combined) and four other persons (one man and three women) who came early each morning and worked until late in the evening. In

* Even in cases where employers provide their own workshops much of the work is given out to "outworkers," so that the existence of such workshops is no guarantee that a particular garment has been made on the premises. In too many cases, it is to be feared, the customer is misled on this point.

another case (also living, sleeping, and workroom combined) six workers were employed (two men and four women). There was absolutely no ventilation, and the steam from the pressing made the room almost unbearable. In a third case reported to me, a small back room (living, sleeping, and workroom) contained three workers. The bed was laid upon the floor, which was wretchedly dirty and looked as if it had not been scrubbed for months. In yet another instance (likewise a small back room) two men and a woman were found seated upon the bed busily sewing.

Such cases are by no means rare, nor are they the worst that could be given. They simply represent what are frequent conditions in many of these small domestic workshops. Many of the worst cases escape detection owing to the cleverness, or cunning, of the devices adopted. In some cases, for example (one such was reported to me), a man rents, say, two rooms both of which are ostensibly workrooms, but in order to save gas, and, at the same time, secure personal supervision, he compels his workers (numbering, probably, from eight to twelve persons) to work in one room. Should the Factory Inspector call warning is at once given and half of the workers slip into the other room. It is by no means difficult to secure this warning. The people are fertile in resource, and a number of devices are systematically resorted to to escape detection. In some cases a small dog is kept simply to give warning of the approach of strangers.

It is obvious, therefore, that the work of inspection is made, under any circumstances, extremely difficult, while with a limited staff of inspectors, such as, unhappily, is

the case at present,* anything like efficient inspection is out of the question. Much may be hoped, doubtless, from the effect of recent provisions of the law requiring the registration and systematic visitation of outworkers, but, nevertheless, it is open to grave question whether things can ever be satisfactorily remedied while domestic or tenement workshops are allowed to exist.

In any case it cannot too strongly be urged that the limit of accommodation sanctioned by the law *(i.e.*, 250 cubic feet per head) is, in the case of domestic or tenement

* Under the Public Health (London) Act, 1891, the local sanitary authority, acting through its sanitary inspectors, is solely responsible for domestic workshops, which are thereby excluded from the provisions of the Workshop and Factory Acts. In cases of neglect or default, however, on the part of the local authority, the power of summary action is entrusted to H.M. Inspectors of Factories. In a previous chapter I gave particulars as to the number of *Sanitary* Inspectors in Soho and other districts. It may be useful to supplement these with figures shewing the number of *Factory* Inspectors in the United Kingdom. The entire staff consists of the following—

1	Chief Inspector
5	Superintending Inspectors
13	1st. Class Inspectors
27	2nd. „ „
1	Additional Inspector under Clause 24 of the Act of 1891
1	Assist. „
21	Junior Inspectors
4	Lady „
25	Inspectors' Assistants
Total 98	

The number of *registered* workshops and factories, on the other hand, is as follows—

Registered Factories	64,098
„ Workshops	69,990
Total	134,088

workshops—where the means of ventilation are necessarily imperfect—altogether insufficient. *

Another very serious evil arising out of the use of private tenement dwellings as workshops is that represented by the deficiency in sanitary conveniences, to which reference has already been made. † It is a sufficiently serious matter, from a sanitary point of view alone, that a house intended originally for the accommodation of a single family, and furnished with sanitary conveniences for one family only, should be let out in small tenements to five, six, or even more families; but the evil is greatly aggravated when, as is the case in Soho, these tenements are made to serve as workshops also. Under these circumstances the supply of water-closets which, as I have already shown, is often, even under ordinary circumstances, scandalously insufficient, has to meet the requirements of an increased number

* The evidence of Dr. Hamer, the Asst. Medical Officer of Health for London, confirms this. In his report of a special inspection of 200 domestic workshops in Soho, made in 1893, he declares that "it was no uncommon thing to find the air of the workrooms close and oppressive, and it cannot be too strongly insisted upon that the standard of 250 cubic feet is a low one, and when the air space per head approaches this limit, the means of ventilation should be particularly attended to. Even when the air of rooms occupied to this extent is renewed three or four times an hour, the amount of carbonic acid pollution must necessarily be considerable, and when no special means of ventilation are provided, such frequent renewal is impracticable. Under the conditions which were found to obtain in the workshops visited, it is unlikely that the air of the rooms was renewed more often than once or, at most, twice per hour, and under these circumstances, pollution to a very serious extent is quite compatible with the full allowance of 250 cubic feet of space per head."

† See pp. 16, 38—39 etc.

of persons, including workers of both sexes. I am perfectly well aware that this state of things is entirely contrary to the provisions of the Public Health Act, which requires * that "every factory, workshop, and workplace shall be provided with sufficient and suitable accommodation in the way of sanitary conveniences, regard being had to the number of persons employed in, or in attendance at such building; and also where persons of both sexes are, or are intended to be employed, or in attendance, with proper separate accommodation for persons of each sex," but the evil exists notwithstanding, and often in the most scandalous and aggravated forms. It is but another illustration of the fact of which, in this district, one is perpetually reminded, that legislative reforms are in themselves useless in the absence of adequate and efficient administrative arrangements.

It is here that the real and characteristic defect in our social arrangements lies, and until we frankly recognise it, and proceed earnestly to remedy it, it is useless—legislative reforms notwithstanding—to expect any great improvement in the conditions of social and industrial life.

Another obvious evil of domestic workshops, but one to which, strangely enough, the public, who are most concerned, have been singularly indifferent, lies in the facilities they offer for the spread of disease. How great are these facilities few, perhaps, realise; but it is not difficult to estimate them when we consider the terribly crowded conditions under which tailors live, the grave sanitary defects of their tenement-workrooms, and the risks incurred in the promiscuous herding together in the fetid atmosphere of small crowded workrooms of all sorts and

* Section 38, sub-sec. 1. Public Health (London) Act, 1891.

conditions of people. The law, it is true, requires the speedy notification of all cases of infectious disease, and imposes a fine (not exceeding £10) upon the occupier of a workshop, or any other person, who allows work to be done "in any dwelling-house (or building occupied with a dwelling-house) in which any inmate is suffering from scarlet fever or small-pox." But (even were no loophole of escape offered in the shape of a "reasonable" plea of ignorance) the difficulty of enforcing the law is obvious; while in the case of the worker (for whom notification may mean the loss of an entire season's work), the temptation to evade the law may easily become irresistible. * It may be interesting to mention in this connection, a case that came under my own knowledge a year or two ago, and for the truthfulness of which I can vouch. A certain worker, whom I happen to know, and who is one of the

* The Amalgamated Society of Journeymen Tailors, with commendable regard for the protection of the public (which, it is to be feared, the public does not always reciprocate), has an admirable provision to meet cases of this kind. The rule reads as follows:—

"That in all cases where a member is prevented from following his employment by the medical authorities, in consequence of some member or members of the house in which he resides suffering from infectious disease, the Committee of the Branch shall investigate the case and medical certificate. They shall have power to grant lockout pay (*i.e.*, 15/- a week) to the member. The Secretary shall send a full report within seven days to the Executive Council, who shall have power to grant such other payment as may meet the case, until the medical officer certifies that his family is free from infection."

This arrangement, however, refers only to members of the Trade Society, whereas—as I have already shown—the vast majority of workers are non-unionists. For full particulars of the various benefits conferred upon members of this Trade Society, the reader is referred to App. XIV—XV.

best workers in the trade, had the misfortune some years ago to have several of his children (I think three) down at one time with fever, one of them subsequently dying from the disease. The man, however, not only failed to notify the firm for whom he was working of the fact, but actually used the work upon which he was at the time engaged as a temporary covering for the sick children, and afterwards sent it home as finished in the ordinary way. Among the garments so used was one that was being made for the late Cardinal Manning, and which, I am informed, was subsequently worn by him during a visit to Rome!

In another instance—in this case a recent one—seven persons (*viz.*, a tailor, his wife, three children, and two lodgers) were crowded together in one room, which, like many others, had to serve the triple purpose of living room, bedroom, and workroom. One of the children was stricken with fever, and (notice having been given, in this case, to the sanitary authorities), the family had to clear out to have the room disinfected. In the room at the time, however, were several coats upon which the man and his wife had been working while the child lay sick with the fever, and these when finished were sent back to the firm (a fashionable West End firm) in the ordinary way.* The indifference of the clothes-wearing public on this whole question is as extraordinary as it is appalling. It is probably due in great measure to ignorance, but if so, it is an unhappy and dangerous ignorance, and one that should be quickly dispelled. It can hardly be doubted that if the wealthy residents of Mayfair and Belgravia

* The recent scandal in connection with the Duke of York's trousers is, perhaps, still fresh in the public mind.

could be induced to visit the domestic workrooms of Soho, and see for themselves the actual conditions under which their clothes are made, the result would be a rude awakening that would speedily bring about a series of healthy reforms. As it is the public seems well content to remain in ignorance of the fact that nearly 50 per cent. of those actually employed in making its clothes live under crowded and often scandalous conditions. That individuals could do much to remedy things is certain. They could at least insist upon knowing the conditions under which their clothes are made, or at all events demand adequate guarantees for the cleanliness and effective supervision of the workrooms. In America they have a system which (so long as domestic workshops are tolerated) might with advantage be adopted here. The Massachusetts Act 246 of 1893, for example, requires that all garments made in domestic or tenement-house workshops shall be marked with a special label. A similar arrangement would undoubtedly help matters in London.

Internal Changes. The Advent of the Jew.

The question of tenement or domestic workshops is also related, more or less directly, to the various changes—many of them very serious changes—which have gradually transformed the tailoring trade in Soho in recent years. Prominent among these changes (I omit for the moment the enormous increase in the number of women workers) may be mentioned the following:— (1) Shorter seasons; (2) a cheaper class of work; and (3) less permanent work (*i.e.*, a gradual dissolution of the informal, but more or less permanent, bond formerly existing between particular workmen and the firms for which they worked).

All of these changes may be traced back to two chief causes (which at bottom are one) *viz.*, the introduction of machine work, and the advent of the Jews.

The extraordinary manner in which the Jews (having possessed themselves already of Whitechapel and St. George's-in-the-East) have recently invaded and captured Soho, affords one of the most remarkable illustrations of industrial change that probably any district in London could offer.

Less than ten years ago there were comparatively few Jewish tailors in Soho, and these were confined, for the most part, to one or two small streets. Now, however, the whole district is overrun with them. *

One reason for their success is found in the fact that they give far less trouble than English workers. There is less danger of trade disputes and strikes, and, moreover, they are comparatively indifferent as to the class of work they get. They will gladly take the rough (or cheap) work with the smooth, and are able (thanks to their sweating practices) to make the one pay for the other. It is the rule among many of the West End firms to give these men what are called "soft sews," and pay them something like 25 % less for making.

Then, again, they are willing to work at any time, and at all hours, and are extremely useful when (as often happens) a garment is required to be made in a few hours. A case recently reported to me will illustrate this. A

* I have already shown (see p. 58) the large proportion of foreigners in Soho and other districts. It may, however, serve to give a clearer idea of the proportion of foreign tailors in London if I mention that out of 21,403 heads of families engaged in the tailoring trade in London, no fewer than 13,497, or 63 % were born out of London.

young married Jew in Soho had been without work all day. At seven in the evening he went to his shop, and procured a job (a coat) that was wanted immediately. He took it home and started work at once, working incessantly through the night, assisted by his wife, who worked with a baby in her arms, and in this way the garment was got ready for the shop by the required time next morning.

Against this form of competition the English worker is never safe, and its inevitable consequence has been to force long spells of night work upon him also.

Moreover, it has practically revolutionised the trade by destroying the more or less permanent tie that formerly existed between West End firms and their out-workers. In the old days, and, indeed, up to a comparatively recent date, men worked for the same firm for fifteen or twenty years, and, in some cases even longer; while in the case of good workmen, the utmost (sometimes ruinous) license was allowed. If work was a little late no one greatly cared, while the men frequently went "on the drink" for weeks at a stretch, sometimes borrowing money for the purpose from the firms for whom they worked. I have information of one man who actually owed his firm £6, which he had borrowed in this way. The competition of the Jew has, however, changed all this, and while we may be thankful for some features of the change (it has certainly contributed greatly to the discouragement of the prolonged drinking bouts that formerly disgraced the trade), it has, nevertheless, had other results of an exceedingly injurious character.

Under the new conditions the slightest unpunctuality is frequently followed by summary dismissal. In one week,

a few months back, several cases were reported to me where workmen were summarily dismissed (*i.e.*, refused further work) for being half an hour late with their work, and this in the "off", or dead season, meant six or eight weeks of enforced idleness and semi-starvation. If instead of being private journeymen tailors (*i.e.*, ordinary outworkers) these men had been "sweaters" (*i.e.*, had worked for a number of inferior firms, employing for this purpose a number of women at cheap rates of pay) they would have been considerably better off, and would have been secure from a risk of this kind. As it is, the merest accident, or a special difficulty in a garment, may easily make them a little late with their work.

In other cases heavy fines are resorted to. One such case was reported to me recently. The man (who worked for a cheap firm in the West) happened through no fault of his own to be a little late with his work. Presently a messenger from the firm drove up in a hansom in quest of the work. Shortly afterwards a telegram arrived, followed, immediately afterwards, by a second messenger. At the end of the week the sum of five shillings was deducted from the man's wages to cover the cost of the telegram and cab. Against this system of deductions, or fines, the worker (owing to special conditions that prevail in this class of trade) is practically helpless. *

Sweating Practices.

That the advent of the Jew has also been marked by a great increase in "sweating" will be obvious from what I

* I am told that cases have occurred where the fines have actually amounted to more than the man's earnings.

have already stated. The West End tailoring trade is peculiarly liable to degradation of this kind.* The fact that it is a "domestic" trade, liable to constant fluctuations, and carried on at all times under extremely precarious conditions, gives the "sweater" a tremendous advantage of which he is not slow to avail himself. One most disastrous result of the system (although here it is a little difficult to distinguish precisely between cause and effect), is the serious decline of the system of thorough apprenticeship, and the substitution of the factory system of minute subdivision of labour. †

That this result has been accelerated by the poverty and impatience of the parents, who are, speaking generally, too poor to support their children through a long apprenticeship

* In discussing the West End trade it is very necessary to keep well in view the different classes into which the trade is divided. On the one side, for example, there are the good old-fashioned shops, representing still the very best class of work, where all the workers (from the employers downwards, and including the outworkers and their wives) are thoroughly skilled and practical tailors. On the other side there are the so-called "merchant tailors," and "slop" shops generally (disguised very frequently under a brilliant show), where not only the master but even the cutter may have no practical (*i.e.*, thorough) knowledge of the trade, and where the workers, with the exception of the leading hands, have but a partial knowledge of the manufacture of a garment (*e.g.*, machinists, fellers, buttonholers, pressers, etc.).

In the former case, speaking generally, good prices are paid, and ample trimmings and "sewings" are given out with the work. In the latter case prices are low and "sweating" frequent, while "sewings" have to be found by the worker. The gradual degradation of even the best class of trade through the system of outwork is, however, becoming most marked.

† It has been stated that there are now no fewer than twenty-five distinct sub-divisions in the tailoring trade (*e.g.*, cutters, basters, machinists, pressers, fellers, buttonholers, etc., etc.)

is undoubtedly true; but it is much more largely true to say that the new system owes its remarkable success to the very special facilities which it offers for sweating practices, in which his scientific methods give the Jew an immense advantage over the English worker. In any case, the change is fatal to healthy pride of workmanship, and, indeed, threatens to make an entire end of the thoroughly practical tailor. Under this system the absorbing consideration is no longer a question of workmanship, but becomes instead a question of profit.

Numerous cases of "sweating" have been reported to me from time to time. I can mention but one or two.

In one case a young woman (a thoroughly skilled workwoman who had frequently earned, as a weekly worker employed on the best class of work, from 22/- to 26/- a week), was compelled through slackness to accept work from a Jew who paid her piecework. At the end of the first week her wages were 7/- and during the whole time that she worked for him she never succeeded in earning more than 8/- a week. *

In another case a day-worker was paid 2/- per day (a shilling per day less than she had always previously received); but although paid two-thirds of a day's wage she was required to do what was virtually a day-and-a-half's work, and then was fiercely bullied for not accomplishing more. This man regularly robbed his employés of their half-hour for tea. This, however, is constantly

* Under this system of piecework she would be there all the time but have work given to her at intervals as the necessity arose (*e.g.*, a garment to "fell", or a set of button-holes to work). So that she might be there for an entire day, but be idle for hours, and then be paid only for actual work.

done. One "sweater" of whom information was given me regularly closed his front door at tea-time, and further guarded himself against the contingency of a "surprise" visit from the Factory Inspector by stationing a "scout" there to give warning. In the evening he would contrive so to "distribute" his workers as to leave his workroom clear. *

It is indeed no uncommon thing for workers, working for Jews, to be kept employed until nine, ten, and even twelve o'clock at night. One case indeed was reported some time back where a girl was persistently overworked. She went one morning to the workroom and found no work ready. She was told to come again at 2 p.m. and was then started and kept at work until 3 o'clock next morning. She went again at 8 a.m. and worked until 10.30 p.m. Next morning she began again at 8 a.m. and was kept working until 10 p.m. Happily this case was reported and the "sweater" was fined £5 and costs; but it is only occasionally that cases are discovered. It must not be forgotten that in these cases the worker is helpless and is not free to make terms with the "sweater." In the slack seasons especially, the latter can take every advantage of his workpeople, knowing that they are absolutely dependent upon him for work, and that, no matter what the conditions are on which the work is offered, they must eagerly accept it.

* There are at least two distinct classes of "sweaters". First, the small man who employs few hands and whose workroom adjoins (or indeed actually is) his dwelling-room; and, secondly, the large "sweater" who employs a considerable number of "hands", and whose workrooms (in many cases large and well lighted) are apart from his living rooms.

But sweating is by no means an exclusively Jewish vice.* It prevails to a considerable extent among English "middlemen" also; while some of the larger firms in the West are notorious "sweaters." The following may serve to illustrate this.

A case was reported to me some time back where a man and his wife (sober, respectable, and industrious people) worked as trousers hands (finding their own workroom, and tools) for a large and well-known firm of cheap tailors in the West. They were paid, to begin with, at the rate of 2/3 per pair, but the prices were gradually cut down until the workers received but 1/6, and, finally 1/- per pair! Moreover they were compelled to find their own "sewings" (*i.e.*, twist, etc.). †

* The writer has no wish to be unfair to the Jews *qua* Jews. There are doubtless many Jewish tailors in the West who conduct their workshops on lines that would compare favourably with the methods of English tailors. But it can hardly be doubted by anyone intimately acquainted with the trade that in recent years the Jewish "sweater" has gradually supplanted the Irish "sweater" who formerly had so large a monopoly of out-work in the West; and that, moreover, he has been greatly helped in this by his scientific methods, which have led him to take full advantage of two important factors in the modern development of the trade (of which the English worker has been much slower to avail himself), *viz*:—female labour and machinery.

† A case was tried in the Lambeth County Court only a few weeks back (August 1896) in which a middleman brought an action against a tailoress for detaining nineteen coats belonging to him. The defence pleaded was that the middleman declined to pay the price for work done which his wife had offered. In the evidence given it was proved that the woman was paid at the rate of ninepence per dozen coats for working five buttonholes and sewing on four buttons on each, together with fetching and delivering the goods, finding her own sewing materials, workroom, and lighting. "It takes me," said the woman, "from 9 in the morning till 9 at night to do a dozen coats; I have to buy my own material, and

These iniquitous sweating wages cannot be justified. They are not to be justified even on a plea of economic necessity. It is possible even in the lower class trade of the West to pay fair wages, for the cost of the material used in this description of work is very small, amounting, probably, to not more than 1/6 per yard (double width), for "suitings" and less than 1/- per yard (single width) for trouserings.*

The men who take out this inferior class of work are often not tailors, but men who have learnt the "pressing," and who then marry a tailoress with a knowledge of the class of work they want to do. But many of these people can only keep at it for a few years. The long hours and the incessant strain gradually, but surely, tell. The nerves become exhausted, and the general health gives way until, presently, there is nothing for it but to sell or lose the

pay my fare (twopence) in fetching and carrying back work." The plaintiff (who admitted the rate of pay) urged in extenuation that some of the most fashionable West End and City tailors are making fortunes by sweating the middleman and through him the worker, and added that he himself was working for Members of Parliament. The National Average Time Log allows for this kind of work as follows:—

"Five holes 1¼*d.*, buttons with tacks ½*d.*, making a total of 1¾*d.*"

See *The Tailor and Cutter*. August 6th, 1896.

* A suit of clothes can easily be cut out of 3¼ yards of double width material, and a pair of trousers out of 2½ yards of single width material. In the case of the latter the average cost in the class of trade referred to above would probably be as follows:—

Cost of material	2/6
Make up	1/-
Trimmings	1/-
	4/6.

When it is added that the *lowest* price charged for trousers (made to measure) in the West is 8/11, it will be seen that the profits are enormous.

home. The people to whom I have already referred, although perfectly sober and respectable, lost machines, and home, and everything.

But even much of the better class work in this district is done under the "sweating" system. For example, I have information of a well-known firm of so called "fashionable" tailors in the West who regularly pay the "middleman" out-worker 7/6 for a jacket for which other firms pay from 16/- to 18/-.* Out of this 7/6 no less than 2/- was given back by the "sweater" to the shop-foreman in what are called "salvages" or bribes. So keen, however, is the competition among the "sweaters" themselves, that on one occasion, I am credibly informed, a rival middleman actually offered the foreman a "salvage" of 3/- out of every 7/6, and in consequence obtained the work. This system of "salvages," or bribes, is one of the most iniquitous of the many evil results of out-working, and cannot too strongly be denounced; but that it prevails to a very considerable extent in the trade of the West is notorious, and it probably offers the best explanation of the fact that the "sweater" often takes from £40 to £70 per week in wages while the men in the employer's own workshop are earning little or nothing.†

* The actual work put into the make-up of the cheaper garment is, of course, of greatly inferior quality.

† The reader will do well to study in this connection the evidence given by Mr. Edward M'Leod, the present West London District Secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Journeyman Tailors, before the Royal Commission on Sweating on July 10th, 1888. Mr. M'Leod showed conclusively that in the first ten weeks of that year (*i.e.*, the slackest time in the whole of the year) one out-worker had taken £190, and another £75, in wages from the Army and Navy Stores, while the workmen on the premises had been almost completely idle. A precisely

The case referred to above is probably an extreme one (although in matters of this kind it is difficult to speak with assurance, inasmuch as positive evidence is exceedingly difficult to obtain), but that "salvages" of from 2/6 to 5/- in the £1 are frequently given is notorious, as also is the custom of giving Bank-holiday and Christmas "presents" to the shop-foreman.

But the system of sweating works most successfully in the trousers branch of the trade. For example, I have before me now the name and address of a man who employs about eight women and two men, and who regularly receives work from a well-known firm of clerical tailors in the West. For trousers for which he himself gets 3/6 per pair, he pays his workpeople as follows:

Tailoress	1/3	per pair
Machinist	-/3	„ „
Presser	-/6	„ „
Total ...	2/-	per pair.

This leaves him a clear profit of 1/6 per pair. When I add that the women can make two pairs per day it will be seen that his profits are enormous. From the total of these, however, must be deducted the cost of rent and coke which in his case amounted to exactly 8/- per week.

Increase of Women Workers.

From what has already been said it will probably be clear that the rapid increase of women workers has played an important part in the deterioration and disorganization of the tailoring trade in the West.

similar condition of things exists in many West End firms to-day, and will probably continue to exist so long as out-working is recognised.

The enormous extent of this increase in recent years is little realised, but it is so startling as to seem at first incredible. The following Table will show at a glance the extent and rapidity of the increase in the trade as a whole:

Table showing the Increase of Women workers in the Tailoring trade (England and Wales) between the years 1871—1891.*

	Total Males.	Total Females.
1871	111,860	38,043
1881	107,668	52,980
1891	119,496	89,224

That is to say, between 1871 and 1881 the number of *men* engaged in the trade *decreased* nearly 4 per cent.; while in the same period the number of *women* workers *increased* over 39 per cent. Between 1881 and 1891, again, the number of men increased nearly 11 per cent., while in the same period the number of women increased over 68 per cent. Taking the entire period of twenty years, (1871—91), the *men* have increased barely 7 per cent., while the *women* workers have increased over 134 per cent.!

The increase is, of course, to be explained in part by the lightening of the work through the introduction of machinery, and, also, by other changes which have already been referred to; but there can be no doubt that in the absence of efficient organization, its general effect has been, in several directions, exceedingly injurious to the workers themselves. If the women's branch of the trade could be satisfactorily organized (a possibility that,

* Quoted from a special Parliamentary Return published in 1895.

I confess, appears to me to be remote so long as domestic or tenement workshops exist), many of the most serious evils of the trade would instantly disappear, but, as it is, the workers are helpless.*

The evils of competition among women are seriously aggravated by the practice of employing what in the boot and fur trades are called "greeners", *i.e.*, apprentices, or learners, who receive little or no remuneration for their work, and who can be easily turned adrift when the purpose of the "sweater" is served. A painful illustration of this, and of the extent of competition, generally, among women, may be seen at any time outside the shops where tailors' advertisements are shown. The women—young and old alike—stand in groups, sometimes in a great crowd, eagerly scanning the advertisements, or, as too frequently happens, exchanging coarse jokes with their neighbours.

Women's Wages.

Of course, under fair conditions, and in the busy seasons, tolerably good wages can be earned. A girl, for example, who is industrious, and who is also fairly clever at her work can earn in the busy season from 12/- to 18/-, or even £1, per week; while a skilled workwoman can earn from 18/- to £1 10*s.* per week· but the higher wages are exceptional, and, of course, are not regular, but

* It is satisfactory to note that women are now admitted as members of the Amalgamated Society of Tailors, although the number who have joined is at present extremely small. Taking the six West Central Branches of the Society (*i.e.*, the West End, Dragon, Hand-in-Hand, Strand, International, and Pioneer) out of a total of 1,467 members (Dec. 1895) only 18 were women.

season wages. In the slack seasons even a good workwoman would probably not earn more than seven, or eight, or, perhaps, ten shillings per week, while for several weeks together she may earn absolutely nothing.

In the following tables I am able to give particulars (taken from the workers' own "log" books) of the highest, lowest, and average earnings of three women employed on good work during the three best months of last year (*i.e.*, April, May, and June 1895).

In the first case the earnings were as follows:—

No. 1.

Highest weekly earnings	£1 9*s.* 6*d.*
Lowest „ „	14*s.* 3*d.*
Average „ „ (for the three best months in the year)	19*s.* 2*d.*

In the second case the figures were as under:—

No. 2.

Highest weekly earnings	£1 11*s.* 9*d.*
Lowest „ „	5*s.* 0*d.*
Average „ „ (for the three best months)	£1 1*s.* 4*d.*

In the third case the following result appeared:—

No. 3.

Highest weekly earnings	£1 2*s.* 3*d.*
Lowest „ „	12*s.* 3*d.*
Average „ „ (for the three best months in the year)	18*s.* 4*d.*

Men's Wages.

In turning, however, as I now propose to do, to the earnings of men engaged in the best class of work in the West, much greater difficulties present themselves. Here

the conditions vary so greatly that it is exceedingly difficult to strike an average. It is probably true, however, to say that taking the three best months in the year the average earnings of indoor workers engaged on the very best trade of the West would be from £2 10*s.* to £3 per week. * I am authoritatively assured, however, that taking the entire year's work the earnings of such men would not average more than 30/- per week. In the case of *outworkers* it is much more difficult to estimate. Here, especially, the conditions vary greatly. Some firms, for example, allow far more machine work than others, while the workers themselves differ greatly in efficiency and skill. A man, however, who is a thoroughly skilled workman, and who is assisted by his wife, can earn from £2 10*s.* to £5 per week during the best weeks of the season; but the higher wages are the result of extreme pressure, and to earn them a man must be able to secure a full share of work from his shop. Probably £3 per week would be a fair average for an outworker and his wife during the three busy months of the year.

Fortunately I am able to give in the Appendix to this volume † an entire year's earnings (*i.e.*, from April 13th, 1895 to April 4th, 1896) of a skilled outworker and his wife (with additional help in the busy season) employed on thoroughly good work (coats) in the West. The case is probably as good an one as could be given, and it will serve to show the actual state of things in this branch of the trade under exceptionally favourable conditions. To begin with, both the man and his wife are young and

* The minimum Trade Union wage for indoor workers engaged on the best class of work is £2 2*s.* 0*d.* per week of 54½ hours.

† See Appendix XIII.

entirely respectable, while both are skilled workers. Moreover, as a glance at the figures (which are taken from the man's "log" book) will show, they have been exceptionally fortunate in securing a regular and full share of work. It will be seen that the highest sum taken in one week was £5 9*s.* 6*d.*, while the lowest sum was 5/1. The entire year's earnings amounted to £175 13*s.* 9½*d.*, giving an average of £3 7*s.* 6*d.* per week.* It must be remembered, however, that these figures represent the earnings, not of one person, but of several workers. The man was regularly assisted by his wife, a thoroughly skilled workwoman, while in the busy seasons much additional help was required. For three months at a stretch, for example (*i.e.*, from April 13th to the end of June), three persons were generally employed, and occasionally four (including of course the outworker and his wife). Further, the higher wages could only be earned by great pressure: the outworker himself frequently working all night (on some occasions having but two hours sleep in thirty-six hours), and on Sundays also, while his wife often worked from 6 a.m. to 12 p.m.

For a considerable part of the year the man and his wife occupied two small rooms (living, and sleeping, and workrooms combined) on the third floor of a house in Soho at a rent of eleven shillings per week, but had to leave in consequence of the landlord's refusal to grant them a third room at less than eight shillings per week extra.† The man thereupon took three rooms (which

* A further analysis which I made of the man's earnings during the following seven months (*i.e.*, from April 4th to October 3rd, 1896) gave a practically identical result.

† Single rooms in this house are regularly let at 8/6 per week.

they at present occupy) in a street a little to the north of Soho, but within easy walking distance (less than a quarter of a mile) of their former address, at a rental of 14/- per week. But—and this will show how helpless the people are in their attempts to escape the pressure of exorbitant rents—the change of address was immediately followed by a loss of work, for a firm who before were willing to give the man work instantly withdrew their offer when they learned that he was living on the northern side of Oxford Street. The truth is—and it cannot be stated too strongly or too often—as things are at present, and under the existing system of outwork, the workers in Soho are absolutely powerless to escape from the crushing burden of ruinously exorbitant rents.

Some Family Budgets.

It may not be uninteresting, at this point, to supplement the figures already given by a statement showing how the wages so precariously earned are spent. And for this purpose I have selected certain typical weeks in the domestic life of a worker of a somewhat lower class than the one just referred to, but who may be taken as a fair representative of a large number of tailors in the West—a sober, respectable man, working quietly at home and receiving occasional assistance from his wife, but unable to obtain a regular supply of work.*

The family consisted of the man and his wife, and four children (all of them too young to be wage-earners). At

* It may be stated at the outset that many of the workers in the tailoring trade—good, bad, and indifferent alike—live for a large part of the year in a chronic state of bankruptcy, pledging one week's earnings (in the slack seasons, several weeks' earnings) to eke out another.

the beginning of April 1895, following upon a winter of exceptional severity, the man found himself several pounds in debt to landlord, baker, pawnbroker, etc., while several of the children required boots and underclothing.

For the week ending April 20th, 1895, the entire earnings of the family amounted to £2 3*s.* 9*d.*; the household expenses were as follows:

	s.	*d.*
Rent (including 2/- off arrears)	13	0
Baker's a/c for bread (including 1/- off arrears) ...	3	9
Groceries for week	2	6½
Paid for washing (in consequence of wife working at trade)	2	9
Joint of meat (to last three days)	2	7½
Meat, for remaining 4 days...	2	3
Vegetables for week	3	0
1½ cwt. coals (at 1/4 per cwt.)	2	0
Butter for the week (1 lb)	1	0
Sundry household requisites, soap, soda, etc. ...	1	0
Oil		8
Insurance and Club money	1	4
Hire of machine	1	6
Pair of boots for child	2	11
Total expenditure (for six persons)	£2	0 4
Balance of income over expenditure		3 5
	£2	3 9

The absence of any item of expenditure for beer or other alcoholic drinks is noteworthy. Moreover, with the exception of one item of 2/11 for boots for one of the children, there is no mention made of clothes, the cost of which,

for a family of six persons would necessarily be great. * Nor—to mark only one other omission—is there any mention made in the above list of necessary expenditure for wear and tear in household utensils, furniture, etc., and other incidental expenses which are common to all households, and inevitable where there are young children. I have tried to secure a rough estimate of such expenditure, but it is difficult to determine it with anything like accuracy, inasmuch as various sums were given to the wife at irregular intervals; such, for example, as £1 on one occasion for new bedding, and a further sum at another time for sheets, pillow-cases, etc. I shall certainly not be over-estimating this source of expenditure, however, in fixing it at a minimum sum of £2 per annum.

Now it will be interesting to compare this statement, which refers to what in this man's case was a fairly good week, with other similar statements, having reference to the same family, for certain weeks in the slack season. These statements will be of special value as showing the nature and extent of the economies that are forced upon the people in times of slackness.

For the week ending January 5th, 1895, the wages of the family amounted to 15*s.* 8*d.* The expenditure for the same week was as follows:

* It is said to have averaged, in this case, 7/- per week: but this is probably excessive. Judging by ascertained returns in other trades, the sum of 4/- per week would probably be a fairer estimate.

	s.	d.
Rent (half a week only)	5	6
Boots for children (three pairs)	10	9
Meat (frozen mutton) lasting 4 days	2	3
Groceries	2	6
Coals	2	0
Vegetables	1	0
Bread	2	9½
Hire of machine	1	6
Insurance and club	1	4
Oil		8
Dinner for Thursday (six persons)		10
„ „ Friday „		6
Meat tea Saturday (no dinner)		9
Sundries	1	3
	£1 13	7½
Deficiency (excess of expenditure over income)	17	11½

This was met by the man pawning his best suit for £1.

For the week ending January 26th, 1895, the wages of the family were absolutely nil. This, although exceptional in the case of a good worker, is by no means uncommon among workers of a lower class.

In this week, therefore, the expenses, of necessity, had to be cut down to the barest minimum. In the first place, nothing could be paid for rent, hire of machine, Sick Benefit Society, or Insurance. The landlord stormed, and forcibly reminded the man and his wife that he was neither a Relieving Officer, nor a relative, and had nothing to do with their troubles, but, nevertheless, the rent could not be found.

The expenditure for the week was as follows:

		s.	d.
Saturday	Tripe cuttings for Sunday's dinner (six persons)		3½
„	Potatoes and parsley for Sunday's dinner (six persons)		2½
Monday	Dinner (2 bloaters)		2
Tuesday	No dinner		—
Wednesday	(pledged pair of blankets for 4/-) Stew for dinner		9
„	Paid coal man 2/- owing to him (as he refused otherwise to send in any more coal, and family had no fire)	2	0
Thursday	Dinner (potatoes and dripping) ...		4
Friday	No dinner		—
Saturday	Dinner (haddock and butter)		4
Bread for week		2	3
Tea, Sugar, and Milk for week		1	5½
Oil			3
Sundries			9
Total expenditure for week		8	9½

Of this sum 4/- (as will be seen above) was raised by pawning a pair of blankets (this in the depth of the winter!).

Let me conclude with the particulars of one more week. I select the week ending February 9th, 1895.

For this week the entire wages of the family amounted to 8/7. The expenditure was as follows:

	s.	d.
Rent (part of a week)	7	0
Meat for Sunday, etc. (3 lbs of salt beef at 2½ per lb.)		7½
Tea, Sugar, and Milk	1	7
Vegetables		6
Oil		6
Coals	2	0
Bread	2	6
Meat, vegetables, etc. for a stew (six persons) ...		9
Soap, soda, and other sundries		6
Potatoes and Lard (a "baked dinner")		4
Total expenditure for the week	16	3½

Total deficiency on the week (*i.e.*, excess of expenditure over income) 7/8½.

For three days the family lived upon bread and tea. Nothing, it will be noticed, could be paid this week for hire of machine, Sick Benefit Club, or Insurance; nor is anything included for medical attendance incurred by the illness of one of the children. The deficiency was covered by the man pawning his overcoat. *

That the winter of 1894-5 was an exceptionally severe one must, of course, be borne in mind when considering these figures, but they, nevertheless, indicate a condition of things that is sadly too common among the workers of the West in the severe weeks of winter.

General Conclusions.

In view, therefore, of all the facts now given, it will be evident that even in the busy seasons the circumstances of the average tailor are by no means enviable. The comparatively high wages earned then are the result of excessive and prolonged labour carried on under conditions that must always be more or less injurious to health; while they are heavily discounted by long intervals of slackness in which wages tend ever to the vanishing point. If rents were lower and the work could be more evenly distributed throughout the year, the circumstances of the worker would undoubtedly greatly improve; but as things are it is difficult to see how the average tailor in

* It will be noticed that in the three weeks of which I have given particulars (and which, among the class of workers referred to, are by no means so exceptional as may be supposed), the man had been compelled to pawn an overcoat (the only one he possessed), a suit of clothes, and a pair of blankets, and this in the face of the worst rigours of an exceptionally hard winter.

Soho can have other than a precarious and, indeed, "hand-to-mouth" existence, while for frequent and anxious periods—especially during the winter months—his condition must necessarily be one of acute distress.

The problem of reform is unquestionably an exceedingly difficult one, as, indeed, all problems connected with the reform of "season" trades necessarily must be. That many of the evils connected with the trade spring from the inconsiderateness of the clothes-buying public is certain. In the best branches of the trade, for example, much inconvenience and monetary loss are entailed upon the worker through the frequent failure of the customer to keep his appointments for "trying on" a garment. In many cases orders are cut and "basted" to time, and then are allowed to hang in the shop for days while the worker is kept in enforced idleness. In this way considerable time is frequently lost to the worker in the height of a busy season.

It is equally certain, also, that a little consideration on the part of the public would do much to remedy the evils of over-pressure of work in the busy season, on the one hand, and of prolonged slackness in the "off" season on the other. In the West End of London, for example, there is naturally a very large demand for liveries, the orders for which are given in the Spring, just when the tailoring trade is at its busiest. The work is hard and badly paid, and, coming when it does, frequently destroys a good worker's chance of more remunerative work. If, however, all livery orders were given in the early months of the year (*i.e.*, before March)—and there is absolutely no reason why this should not be done—it would not only relieve the pressure of the busy season, but also keep many a worker out of debt during the slack winter weeks.

But, after all, these suggestions, however valuable in themselves, touch but the fringe of the problem. The real remedy for the worst evils connected with the trade lies, it can hardly be questioned, in the total abolition of out-work and the compulsory establishment of employers' workshops. In saying this I am by no means indifferent to the objections frequently brought against employers' workshops by outworkers. That they tend, as at present conducted, to limit personal freedom, and to place a worker at the mercy of his employer's caprice, is doubless true; but that is largely the result of the present alternative system of outworking which gives the employer—especially if he be unscrupulous—a tremendous advantage over the indoor worker. Moreover, as a matter of fact, a precisely similar objection might be urged against the factory system in all other industries. Nor am I indifferent, further, to the many advantages that undoubtedly belong to the so-called "public" workshops that have recently sprung up in the West. But whatever advantages these workshops possess are sanitary and administrative advantages only, while the system of payment for "sittings" fastens even more definitely and expressly upon the worker a charge (amounting virtually to a deduction from wages) which our entire industrial system acknowledges to belong rightfully to the employer.

Compulsory employers' workshops, on the other hand, would secure (1) uniform rates of pay, (2) full and efficient inspection of workshops (3) the abolition of excessive hours of work, and (4) improved sanitary conditions for the workers. In a word: the better regulation of the entire industry, and the abolition of "sweating" in all its forms.

It is useless, however, to expect speedy legislative interference in this direction. The public is always singularly hard to convince in these matters, while the workers themselves are by no means sufficiently agreed to make immediate legislation practicable. Meantime, however, reform might well be sought in fuller and more efficient arrangements for the administration of the Factory and Public Health Acts and especially in the abolition of the present dual responsibility in the case of "domestic" workshops. It is not too much to say that at present many of the most useful provisions of these Acts are rendered useless by the utter inadequacy and confusion of our administrative arrangements. Administrative machinery, it is true, is costly, but where the evasions of the law are so deliberately and skilfully contrived, and, withal, are so ruinous to morality and health, as we know them to be, for example, in Soho, the efficiency and adequacy of such machinery are factors of supreme importance.

In this district, at least, it is true that the general conditions of industry make terribly against the dignity and inspiration that rightfully belong to it, and it is difficult for the worker to escape the sense—I will not say the fact—of degradation. That this should be so is surely matter for serious concern to all who deplore the social schisms of our age. That these largely proceed from, and are considerably intensified by, the modern view of labour—a view which regards it as an irksome, and narrowing, and unlovely thing—is as unquestionable as the view itself is false. But wherein lies the remedy? simply, surely, in an honest attempt to bring back labour in all its forms to pure and healthy conditions, and in a consistent endeavour

to place it upon levels that will make it once more a joy and a delight, and impart to it somewhat of the inspiration that was associated with craftsmanship in the Middle Ages.

PART III—MORAL

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

In estimating the moral problem of West London a much more careful analysis is required than would be necessary, probably, in any other district in Europe. While there are here all the ordinary conditions that determine the moral atmosphere of a district, there are also present other conditions which, so far as England at least is concerned, are peculiar to West London. In this district evil ceases to be a theory, and is subtler and deeper than fact. It surrounds one ever as a subtle and penetrating atmosphere.

Life in West London, for example, is marked by the same conditions of sterile and hopeless artificiality that are to be found in other parts of the metropolis, and, indeed, in all large cities, but aggravated by other conditions which make the artificiality even more hopeless. The people have no direct and personal contact with nature. They live their lives surrounded by artificial objects, and at the mercy of wholly artificial conditions which are fatal to moral life. This, it seems to me, is the special difficulty of religious work in large cities. The inevitable effect of artificial sur-

roundings is to breed secularism, in one or other of its forms, in the soul, and the greater or less refinement of the form will be determined largely by the people's physical surroundings. This fact alone constitutes a powerful plea for those wider agencies which the Churches are beginning to employ. It is the real, if unrecognised, *raison d'être* of much of the religious and educational work that is now being attempted.

Then again, here as elsewhere, full allowance must be made for the demoralising effect of the physical struggle for existence which is created by the pressure of poverty. How severe that pressure is in Soho and the immediately surrounding districts, I have already shown. In estimating the misery which those figures suggested it is necessary to keep in view the almost incredible luxury and wealth to which it offers so startling a contrast. That the two are closely, and, indeed, inevitably related is certain. Unbridled luxury must always be a vicious and disintegrating influence in the life of a community, especially where, as here, one considerable portion of the population lives merely to minister to and maintain it; and it cannot be doubted that the vicious excesses and selfish extravagances of the richer districts of West London have left an unmistakable mark in the degradation and misery of the poorer districts. It is in this direction, as I shall presently show, that we have to turn for the true explanation of many of the darkest and most painful problems of life in West London.

It has been already remarked that one immediate effect of the unrestricted extravagance in the wealthy districts of the West is an exceptional amount of "season," or casual work, which greatly intensifies the pressure of poverty in Soho and other industrial districts. Now the effect of this upon the moral life of these districts is more serious than may at

first be supposed. Casual work, even if it be highly paid, is invariably a greater evil than regular work where the wages are low, for it undermines character and begets a fatalism that is too often blind and reckless. Life tends more and more to become a scramble, with no order or philosophy in it, and the people's moral ideas suffer in consequence. Hence it is that these districts offer so difficult a religious problem.

The same consideration undoubtedly applies to the entire problem of poverty in the district. The precise relation of poverty statistics to the moral problem of a district may not at first seem very obvious, but it is none the less real and indisputable. Poverty in itself may not seriously affect the problem of morals, but destitution undoubtedly does, and while it is easy to exaggerate its influence, it is folly, and worse than folly, to ignore it. Aristotle claimed that it is "needful first to have a maintenance and then to practise virtue," and while we should protest that this is not so absolutely, yet historically and practically the statement has in it a large measure of truth. The general law of progress, or civilization—call it what you will—is an ascent from physical to moral. It is not a question of the intrinsic superiority of the one over the other, but of *natural order*, and any analysis of moral facts which ignores this order must by so much be inconclusive and misleading. Physical destitution intensifies, if it does not actually create, moral obliquity and weakness, and hence religious work among the most destitute classes must always be judged by its own standards. Its results will be relative rather than absolute, although the ideal which inspires it will still be, as always, unconditioned and free.

How terribly and tragically deep this moral deteriora-

tion may go is shown by the fact that in one district known to me young children have sometimes been sold by their own mothers for immoral purposes. Such infamy seems almost incredible, but I am informed on entirely reliable authority that in the district referred to these horrible transactions have actually occurred.

But that tragedies equally serious, and perhaps even more revolting, do actually result from the conditions under which the people live is unhappily too certain. It is impossible, for example, to estimate the disastrous moral effects of the overcrowding which is so notable a feature of life in Soho. It is an equal outrage upon all ideas both of sanitary and moral purity, and goes far to make the commonest decencies of life impossible. It is no wonder if sometimes the children's moral ideas become as fetid as the air of the crowded rooms in which the people work and sleep and live.*

* The statistics of incest, for example, among the overcrowded poor, and also of juvenile prostitution, would, if published, be appalling. It is terribly significant that taking 100 consecutive "rescue" cases admitted into the homes of the Salvation Army, no fewer than 45 of the girls (or nearly one half) had fallen at, or under, the age of sixteen. The full particulars were as follows:—

3	were	11	years	of	age
2	,,	12	,,	,,	,,
5	,,	13	,,	,,	,,
7	,,	14	,,	,,	,,
17	,,	15	,,	,,	,,
11	,,	16	,,	,,	,,
12	,,	17	,,	,,	,,
15	,,	18	,,	,,	,,
5	,,	19	,,	,,	,,
8	,,	20	,,	,,	,,
6	,,	21	,,	,,	,,
2	,,	22	,,	,,	,,
3	,,	24	,,	,,	,,
1	was	25	,,	,,	,,
2	were	33	,,	,,	,,
1	was	34	,,	,,	,,

Another important factor in the moral life of West London is the large foreign element which crowds its industrial districts. This is largely and avowedly irreligious, and its influence cannot be ignored. It plays an important part in the creation of a moral atmosphere the elements of which are more subtle than we have yet allowed ourselves to realise.

CHAPTER II

GAMBLING AND INTEMPERANCE

So far I have dealt with facts which, important as I believe them to be in their relation to the whole problem of morals in West London, are, nevertheless, less obtrusively demoralising than certain other facts which it will be necessary to consider. For example, there is probably no district in London where the evils of gambling prevail to a greater or more disastrous extent. Men, women, and children are alike its victims. Many bookmakers have "touts" or "runners," who visit the workshops and collect the bets, which range from sixpence upwards.

Many of the lads who hang about the street-corners serve in this capacity, and are rewarded by a few coppers and an occasional drink. In some cases barbers act as betting agents, while in others betting transactions have been known to be regularly carried on in small coal shops and other similar places. One such shop was pointed out to me a few months since as a well-known resort of bookmakers, where the various sporting papers could always be seen. Among the tailors of Soho, especially, the evil has spread to an enormous extent, and there is

hardly a workshop now in the district that is clear of the curse. Even the young women have caught the infection, while many of the "masters" devote a considerable portion of their time to gambling at one or other of the numerous clubs which curse the West End, or else to bookmaking at the street-corner.

The Drink Problem.

Then, again, there is probably no district in Europe where temperance work is more needed, or where it is beset with difficulties at once so intricate, and manifold, and widespread as here. In the West End of London indeed, the drink problem is part of a much deeper and more difficult problem, and the entire district is honeycombed with clubs, wine-rooms, restaurants and saloons, whose atmosphere is indescribably vicious. In the industrial districts of the West the evils of intemperance are seen in their coarsest and most obvious forms, but these are hardly so deadly as the subtle and more outwardly refined viciousness of Clubland. The noisy and drunken brawler who haunts the public-houses and beer shops in Soho, is merely expressing in a coarser but probably less serious form the vicious spirit of the idle and well-dressed lounger in Piccadilly.

The widespread extent of intemperance in the industrial districts of the West is, however, itself a most serious fact, although it is easy of explanation. To begin with, the facilities for drinking are appalling. For example, in a small group of eighteen streets in Soho, most of which are exceedingly short, there are no fewer than seventy-six public-houses—an average of more than four per

street. Several of the streets have as many as eight licensed houses, in addition to restaurants and clubs, and one street has no fewer than eleven. If to these figures were to be added the innumerable clubs and restaurants which crowd the neighbourhood—concerning which I shall have more to say presently—the result would be almost incredibly appalling.*

* Taking the area covered by the "C" (St. James's) Police Division (which happens to be the smallest division in London), the number of licensed houses, of all kinds, is as follows:—

No. of Public Houses	357
„ „ Beer Houses with on, or off, licenses	7
„ „ Refreshment Houses with wine licenses on	73
„ „ Houses for sale of Wines in Shops with off licenses	34
„ „ Houses for sale of Wines and Spirits with off licenses	74
Total number of Licensed Houses (for an area of less than a mile (0.70)	545

The number of persons apprehended for drunkenness in this division in 1894 (the latest date for which returns are published) was 2,440: a number exceeded (and that but slightly) by but two other divisions (*i.e.*, Lambeth and Bow) in all London, and this despite the fact already mentioned that it is the smallest division in the metropolis. Its area, for example, is less than a mile (0.70), whereas that of Lambeth is over two miles (2.59); while that of Bow is actually over 35 miles (35.71). If we compare the West End with East and South London the result, as will be seen below, is greatly to the discredit of the West:—

Police Division.	Area in miles.	Total No. of Licensed Houses.	Total number of persons apprehended for Drunkenness in 1894.
St. James (including Soho and Piccadilly)	0.70	545	2,440
Southwark	4.16	559	2,003
Whitechapel (including St. George's-in-the-East and Stepney)	2.08	713	2,330

If allowance be made for the difference in the size of the areas compared the full extent of the discredit attaching to West London will at once be seen.

In another district (in the immediate neighbourhood of Fitzroy Square) to which I have already several times referred, a similar state of things exists. In an area which comprises, roughly, a quarter of a square mile, there are no fewer than seventy-seven licensed houses, in addition to clubs and restaurants which crowd this district also.

But this statement gives no adequate idea of the extent of the evil, for while the endeavour of temperance workers has been to reduce the number of licensed houses, the steady and consistent policy of the publicans has been to increase their size, so that one house may sometimes be approached on three sides, and by five, or six, or even more separate entrances, each of these entrances in turn admitting to numerous smaller compartments or bars. Sometimes a single entrance will lead to as many as eight or even ten separate compartments or bars. For example, of forty-seven public-houses in a neighbouring district which were examined quite recently

11	had	2	entrances
15	„	3	„
7	„	4	„
8	„	5	„
3	„	6	„
1	„	8	„
2	„	9	„

making a total for the forty-seven houses of no fewer than 179 separate entrances. How many compartments or "bars," this total represented, it is altogether impossible to compute.

It may be well, however, in the interests of this investigation, to examine somewhat closely the extent to which these public-houses are used. For this purpose I have

selected four typical public-houses in a thoroughly representative street in one of the districts already referred to.* The street is in all important respects a perfectly typical one—narrow (and certainly not over clean), in close proximity to the principal thoroughfares of the district, and consisting, for the most part, of small shops with three storeys of single and double room tenements overhead. The character of the street is reflected in the size and character of the public-houses in it. These are in no case large, but represent very fairly the average public-house in the neighbourhood.

My object in watching these houses was threefold. First, to ascertain the extent to which they were used, *i.e.*, the number of persons entering; secondly, the hours at which they were fullest and busiest; and, thirdly, the character of the trade done. Two of the houses, A, and B, were watched on a Saturday in June. The first of them was watched for three and a half hours, *i.e.*, from 12.30 p.m. to 4.0 p.m. During this time some 344 persons entered, representing an average of 98¼ per hour. Of these, seventy-nine, or less than one fourth, went in with jugs and cans, and this despite the fact that part of the time covered by these figures, *i.e.*, from 12.30 p.m. to 2 p.m., includes the ordinary dinner hour of the working classes, so that the extent to which the ordinary public-house is a "house of call", or a centre for social drinking becomes at least approximately apparent. The extent to which the custom of "treating" still prevails among the working classes was shown by the number of couples and larger groups who entered. In the course of three and a half hours no less than 54 couples entered (47 men and 7

* In the immediate neighbourhood of Fitzroy Square.

women), in addition to three groups of three persons each, and one of five, so that more than a third of the total number of persons who entered the house during the time covered by our investigations presumably illustrated the custom of "treating." There were also twenty-six "return" visits, all, with the exception of three, being men. I append a table which will show at a glance the proportion of men, women, and children, and also the times when trade was busiest:—

Table "A".

Hours.	Men.	Women.	Children.	Total No. entering.
12.30 to 1 p.m.	41	4	17	62
1 „ 2 „	95	18	20	133
2 „ 3 „	57	17	8	82
3 „ 4 „	42	19	6	67
	235	58	51	344

Total in 3½ hours, 344. Average per hour, 98⅔.

It should be noticed that the number of children given above, and in the following tables, does not include those taken in by parents and other adults, but refers simply to those who entered with jugs and cans. In many cases, almost in the majority, they were exceedingly young, while in some they were little more than infants.

The following table, "B", refers to another house which was watched on the same day (Saturday) but for a longer period, *i.e.*, from 12 noon to 12 midnight, with the exception of a short interval from 3 to 4 p.m. During this time no fewer than 1,467 persons entered (excluding children taken in by parents, etc.), *viz.*, 776 men, almost all of whom went in to drink on the premises; 576 women, about one third of whom had jugs, etc., and 115

children, all of whom, of course, had jugs. This total does not include some thirty volunteers, whose corps was drilling in a neighbouring square, and who, from the point of view of this enquiry, were justly regarded as "exceptional" cases.

A detailed analysis of the results of this prolonged watch shows that during the hours from 12 to 1 p.m. and from 4 to 5 p.m. trade was comparatively quiet; while, on the other hand, the hours from 1 to 3 p.m. and from 5 to 6 p.m. were increasingly busy. During the next hour, *i.e.*, from 6 to 7 p.m. the numbers again fell off somewhat, but from 7 o'clock onwards there was an uninterrupted flow of busy trade. In the appended Table will be found a detailed analysis of the results for a period of eleven hours:—

Table "B".

Hours.	Men.	Women.	Children.	Total No. entering.
12 to 1 p.m.	46	28	11	85
1 „ 2 „	75	23	16	114
2 „ 3 „	67	35	16	118
3 „ 4* „	—	—	—	—
4 „ 5 „	53	32	6	91
5 „ 6 „	109	25	5	139
6 „ 7 „	68	33	3	104
7 „ 8 „	56	46	15	117
8 „ 9 „	64	65	15	144
9 „ 10 „	88	70	14	172
10 „ 11 „	95	106	12	213
11 „ 12 „	55	113	2	170
11 hours	776	576	115	1467
Average per hour	70.6	52.6	10.5	133.7

* No particulars were taken for this hour.

The increase in the number of men from 5 to 6 p.m. is remarkable.

Even more remarkable is the preponderance of women from 10 to 12 p.m. It is partly explained by the fact that much of the supper and Sunday beer is fetched during these hours, by women rather than by children, but this is hardly a sufficient explanation of so sudden and remarkable an increase. Several times during the day, notably between 9 p.m. and 12 p.m. the accommodation of the house was altogether inadequate, and the result was frequent confusion and serious crushing.

But I am well aware that statistics of Saturday trading, although exceedingly important and suggestive, are nevertheless inconclusive when taken by themselves, and I propose, therefore, to give in the following Tables certain supplementary statistics which will show the more normal and regular conditions of the liquor traffic in this district. The following Table "C," gives the result of fifteen and a half hours' continuous watching of a smaller public-house in the same street, on Monday, July 1st (two days after the previous investigation). During this time—*i.e.*, from 9 a.m. to 12.30 p.m.—some 817 persons entered, of whom 420 were men, 315 women, and 82 children, the busiest time being from 9 to 10 p.m., when no fewer than 120 persons, or more than a seventh of the total number for the fifteen and a half hours, sought admittance.

The following Table will show the full and detailed figures:—

Table "C".

Hours.			Men.	Women.	Children.	Total No. entering.
9	to 10	a.m.	16	19	4	39
10	„ 11	„	31	23	9	63
11	„ 12	„	32	24	4	60
12	„ 1	p.m.	34	23	12	69
1	„ 2	„	25	27	11	63
2	„ 3	„	11	10	3	24
3	„ 4	„	8	16	3	27
4	„ 5	„	20	13	3	36
5	„ 6	„	22	11	3	36
6	„ 7	„	13	18	1	32
7	„ 8	„	25	19	1	45
8	„ 9	„	37	24	14	75
9	„ 10	„	80	37	3	120
10	„ 11	„	41	27	1	69
11	„ 12	„	16	13	9	38
12	„ 12.30	a.m.	9	11	1	21
15½ hours			420	315	82	817
Average per hour			27	20	5	52

It will be interesting to compare the above Table with those that precede it. It should, however, be noted that the house to which Table "C" refers is more distinctly a place of resort for "steady" and "social" drinkers than a regular "house of call." Most of those who entered after 8 p.m. stayed until very late. There was also more distinct and definite drunkenness here than in either of the former houses, and at least one person—a woman who entered more than eight times during the day—was served while in a state of intoxication.

The result of subsequent investigations was to show that

the fluctuations of the liquor traffic on the middle days of the week are far less important than is commonly supposed. Indeed, the following Table "D", which refers to a slightly larger house only a few yards distant from "C", seems to suggest that in this district, at least, there is no very important fluctuation. The investigations in this case were made on the following day (Tuesday), and cover a period of 14½ hours. During this time 1,071 persons entered (578 men, 320 women, and 173 children), or 254 more than on the previous day, although the period of investigation was one hour less. The busiest parts of the day were from 12 to 2 p.m. and from 8 to 11 p.m., the afternoon, as usual, being comparatively quiet. Here again it was noticeable that those who went in after 10 p.m. stayed until closing time.

The following Table will show the actual figures:—

Table "D".

Hours.	Men.	Women.	Children.	Total No. entering.
10 to 11 a.m.	40	18	10	68
11 „ 12 „	36	25	11	72
12 „ 1 p.m.	72	26	23	121
1 „ 2 „	52	29	27	108
2 „ 3 „	39	19	4	62
3 „ 4 „	26	17	4	47
4 „ 5 „	22	15	1	38
5 „ 6 „	22	7	4	33
6 „ 7 „	38	19	23	80
7 „ 8 „	43	13	10	66
8 „ 9 „	57	30	29	116
9 „ 10 „	46	55	12	113
10 „ 11 „	54	31	12	97
11 „ 12 „	22	13	3	38
12 „ 12.30 a.m.	9	3	0	12
14½ hours	578	320	173	1,071
Average per hour	40	22	12	74

The following Table "E," which relates to the house referred to in Table "A," will be of value as a further evidence of the normal or mid-week condition of things. In this case the census was taken on the following day (Wednesday), and covers two periods of three hours each, including the busiest hours of the day, *viz:*—1 p.m. to 4 p.m., and 7.30 p.m. to 10.30 p.m. In the course of the six hours some 580 persons entered, or an average of 96.4 per hour—a number which, when judged comparatively, is surprisingly high, and which seems to be conclusive as to the normal state of the liquor traffic in this district.

The actual figures were as follows:

Table "E".

Hours.	Men.	Women.	Children.	Total No. entering.
1 to 2 p.m.	53	21	8	82
2 „ 3 „	32	16	8	56
3 „ 4 „	38	14	1	53
7.30 to 8.30 p.m.	73	28	23	124
8.30 „ 9.30 „	96	39	17	152
9.30 „ 10.30 „	51	42	20	113
6 hours	343	160	77	580
Average per hour	57.1	26.4	12.5	96.4

In this case it will be seen that the busiest hour was from 8.30 p.m. to 9.30 p.m.

CHAPTER III

CLUBS AND SALOONS

But no statement of the liquor traffic in this district would be complete that dealt merely with the number of public-houses, and left out of account the enormous number of social clubs and private drinking saloons that are to be found in every part of the district.

The number of these, as I shall proceed to show, is far in excess of the number to be found in any other district in London, and is accounted for partly by the large foreign element in the population, and partly, and, perhaps, chiefly, by the utter artificiality which colours so deeply the entire life of West London, and the anarchic state of social life in the district generally. They really express the susceptibility of industrial classes, demoralised by utterly precarious conditions of existence, to the influence and vices of idle and luxurious Clubland.

According to a special Parliamentary Return issued in 1892 * there are altogether 414 of these licensed clubs in London (*i.e.*, in the whole of the licensing divisions included

* The changes since then have been slight, and do not appreciably affect the comparison.

in the County of London).* Of these, 214, or more than one half, are situated in West and West Central London. In the St. James's (Soho) licensing division there are 59, or more than any other division in London; while in the area covered by the "C" Police Division (comprising the Strand, Soho, and St. George's, Hanover Square divisions), there are no fewer than 101; as against 51 in the "V" Division; 38 in the "W" Division; and 37 in the "P" Division—the three next highest in the list.

These figures, of course, include the wealthy and fashionable clubs of the West, which form a large proportion of the whole. There are, for example, no less than 14 in Pall Mall; 6 in Whitehall; and 35 in St. George's, Hanover Square; while in the streets lying just outside the area of St. George's, Hanover Square (*e.g.*, St. James's Street, and St. James's Square) there are between twenty and thirty more.

If, however, we confine ourselves to the industrial districts of the West we find that in a small area in Soho there are no fewer than eighteen of these clubs; while in another small district a little to the north of Soho (*i.e.*, in the vicinity of Fitzroy Square), there are no less than twenty-one. In some cases three or four of these clubs may be found in a single street.

Many of them (practically one half) are frequented almost exclusively by foreigners, and although some exist nominally as employment and exchange agencies, there is very little doubt that nearly all of them are in reality drinking, and gambling, and dancing saloons of the worst description.

* Taking the entire area covered by the Metropolitan Police District (which extends outside what is technically called the County of London) there are 573 of these clubs.

Robberies are frequent—"bullies" being deliberately employed, in many cases, for the purpose—but they are rarely reported, simply because the well-dressed victims shrink from the disgrace of public exposure.

Admission to some of these clubs is comparatively easy, and depends entirely upon introduction by an existing member; in other cases, however, and these, of course, the worst, it is much more difficult, and is attended by considerable risk. The members know that they are constantly liable to a raid by the police, and are therefore naturally suspicious of all strangers, even when introduced by an apparently reliable member. The clubs are open practically all the evening—in some cases during the day as well—but they are rarely crowded until near, or after, midnight, but at that time, and for two or three hours afterwards, they are exceedingly busy—card playing, billiards, dancing, and drinking rule supreme, and the moral mischief reaches its highest and most disastrous measure.

I am informed that in one of the clubs that I visited during some recent investigations, considerably over one hundred persons—men and women both—frequently assemble after midnight for dancing and drinking and gambling. It is, perhaps, unnecessary to add that in the great majority of cases the licensing laws are shamefully evaded. Only "members," it is true, are allowed to *order* the drinks, but the "visitors" invariably pay for them. In certain cases —one of which I visited—the so-called "clubs" are little more than private drinking saloons of which a "visitor" becomes a "member" (*i.e.*, a "legal", and authorised customer), by merely signing his name in a register. This is done without proposition of any kind.

Now, it will be evident that the existence in large num-

bers of clubs of this description is a most disastrous fact in the moral life of a community, and one that calls for serious attention. Things, however, will never be remedied until all clubs—rich and poor alike—are properly licensed, and made subject to stringent regulations and effective supervision.

CHAPTER IV

SO-CALLED RESTAURANTS AND HOTELS

AGAIN, as I have already stated, the drink problem in West London is still further complicated by the unusual number of restaurants, coffee and dining rooms, and "hotels" which are to be found in the district. In all of these drink is easily obtainable, and it cannot be doubted that in many of them (the restaurants especially), the sale of intoxicants yields a very considerable—probably chief—share of the entire profits. In one district to which I have already several times referred, and which comprises an area of roughly a quarter of a square mile, there are no fewer than 39 restaurants, 19 "hotels," and 35 coffee or dining rooms, in addition, as I have already explained, to upwards of 70 public-houses. These figures do not include a large number of what are called "private hotels"—a house, in this district at least, of a very indeterminate character. In one or two cases there are as many as five restaurants, besides "hotels" and coffee-houses, in one short street, while in those portions of the principal thoroughfares included in this area the proportion is even greater. When it is remembered that in all the restaurants and "hotels" drink is sold on the premises,

and that in the case of what I have called "coffee and dining rooms" it is always fetched to order, the importance of these places in any examination of the local facilities for drinking will be apparent. In point of fact many of the so-called "restaurants" included in this list are simply drinking saloons under another name.

But they are more than this. They are also, many of them, as I shall proceed to show, "houses of accommodation" of a most deliberate and shameless kind. For this assertion the most complete and overwhelming proofs could easily be furnished. I have already in my possession, as the result of continuous observation of many of these houses in a particular district, important, and indeed, irresistible evidence. My suspicions were first aroused some three or four years ago by noticing the unusual and, indeed, extraordinary number of these "restaurants" and "hotels" in quiet and retired streets, where there was apparently no sufficient demand for them; and a closer examination of their structural arrangements confirmed me in suspicions which recent investigations have, unhappily, abundantly justified. For example, while a casual observer sees only one entrance, which apparently leads directly into the restaurant itself, a closer observation reveals the fact that there are really two, one, a private door, which is always kept locked, admitting to rooms upstairs; and the other, a public one, admitting into the restaurant proper, but both covered by the general entrance. In this way the real object for which, in many cases, the premises are visited, is effectually disguised, and the true character of the house concealed. Some months ago I had a number of these supposed "restaurants" and "hotels" carefully and systematically watched between

the hours of 10 p.m. and 1 a.m., and the result left no doubt in my mind as to their true character. It would probably serve no useful purpose to give the actual evidence that is now in my possession. It will suffice to say that in several cases the same house was watched on more than one occasion, and always with the same result. In many cases the women were easily recognisable as the regular frequenters of the principal thoroughfares of the district, while in others it was observed that the couples came direct from the neighbouring clubs, to which they shortly afterwards returned. It will be sufficient to add that one woman was seen to visit the same "restaurant" four times on one night, each time accompanied by a different man.

Another result of this close observation was to confirm a previous impression that many of these "restaurants" and "coffee-houses" are frequently used for gambling purposes.

It speedily becomes obvious to anyone who watches them that there is no sufficient amount of legitimate trade, even in so invertebrate a district as this, to support them.

CHAPTER V

PROSTITUTION

Of course such facts as I have already mentioned are comparatively unnoteworthy in a district like West London, which has become infamous throughout Europe as a recognised rendezvous for the most vicious and dissolute characters.

Here prostitution is a deliberate and organised trade, accepted and protected by real, if unofficial, social sanctions, and assuming dimensions that only a very few who are closely intimate with the life of the district realise. In certain districts there are streets that consist very largely—I had almost said exclusively—of "disorderly houses", and brothels; while—to show the extent to which this infamous "trade" is organised—I may mention that it has been estimated that in the St. James's and St. Anne's parishes alone there are at least one thousand "bullies" who live on the earnings of prostitutes. * That

* It is also estimated that there are 2000 persons engaged in this hideous traffic in the area covered by the Charing Cross Vigilance Committee.

The St. Anne's Vestry has, however, recently adopted vigorous measures of suppression which it is to be hoped will largely reduce the

the comparatively recent, and now organised, immigration of foreign prostitutes has seriously aggravated the problem in West London cannot be doubted, and it is becoming every year a much more serious and menacing fact. It has already assumed proportions that call for urgent and resolute attention.

Apart from this and similar schemes for the deliberate organisation of prostitution in West London, it will probably never be easy to satisfactorily explain it; and the closer one's observation, and the wider one's experience of the problem become, the more difficult of adequate explanation does it appear. In attempting—even in a preliminary way—an analysis of the problem in the West End, it is necessary to keep carefully in mind, as a closely related fact, the remarkable disinclination for marriage which, as I have already shown,* so specially characterises the districts of the West. That this is an important moral fact, and one that is directly related to the question of prostitution, is as certain as it is, apparently, unfamiliar.

Then, again, the temptations to the life are often skilfully and deeply contrived. It is notorious, for example, that many of the large business houses of the West, and especially refreshment bars, are systematically visited by procuresses, who cultivate the acquaintance of the young women assistants and invite them to visit them. When they succeed they treat them with the utmost liberality and consideration until they have either won the girls

number of disorderly houses in that district. But, meanwhile, the scandal, so far as the principal thoroughfares of the West are concerned, continues to grow.

* See Part II, p. 72.

over to their plans, or compromised them irretrievably with their employers. But the result in either case is the same. The girls are left completely in their power, and sacrificed to a life of unspeakable misery and degradation. That the awful and helpless loneliness of London is also an important factor in the problem is too evident to need discussion, but it may be noted as perhaps the most irresistibly tragic of all the causes of this dark social evil.*

How far the problem is at root an economic one is matter for grave consideration. That it is so to a serious extent few who know at all intimately the industrial and economic conditions of the district, can doubt. The low rates of wages and the excessive rents would, under any circumstances, create apparent necessities which few of us have hitherto had courage or charity enough to face; but when to these is added the awful precariousness of work in what are almost exclusively "season" trades, the danger is enormously increased. It is at present a notorious fact that, in the West End of London at least, milliners, and dressmakers, and tailoresses are frequently driven upon the streets in the slack season, returning to their shops with the advent of the new season's trade. In other words, *morals fluctuate with trade.* It may be difficult to fix wages by ethical standards, just as it is alleged to be difficult to modify the evils of "season" trades; but to prove, as some are trying to do, its impossibility, may be

* It is a suggestive fact, in this connection, that out of 100 consecutive cases taken from one of the London "Rescue" Home Registers of the Salvation Army no fewer than sixty of the girls and women were born in the provinces.

to compel an infinitely more serious revision of accepted moral standards. *

But here, again, serious as I know these facts to be, I am convinced that we are dealing only with partial and inadequate causes of a problem that lies much deeper, and which, more perhaps than any other problem, demands the utmost intellectual and moral honesty in those who try to investigate it. It is, for example, a suggestive and, in every way, impressive fact, that so many of the girls who regularly frequent Piccadilly, and Regent Street, and the other thoroughfares of the West are drawn from domestic service, where the rigours of the economic struggle are certainly not so severely felt. †

This fact at least confirms a belief, for which there is ample other evidence, that, after all, the roots of the problem lie deep down in spiritual facts; and that the problem itself represents what is at bottom a mad, and irresistible craving for excitement, stimulated by the excitements and vicious luxury of West End life:—a serious and wilful revolt against the monotony of commonplace ideals, and the uninspired drudgery of every-day life. It at least should be remembered that it is in no sense an accident that prostitution has its recognised centre in the

* The danger is, also, painfully real in the case of a large number of young women who are employed temporarily, as "season" hands, in the large drapery and other establishments of the West; and who are summarily dismissed, with only a week or nine days "deferred" wages, at the close of the short season. The circumstances of such girls, if self-dependent and friendless, are perilous in the extreme.

† Out of 100 consecutive cases received into the "Rescue" Homes of the Salvation Army, and drawn from all parts of London, no less than 88 had previously been in service. This is a remarkable confirmation of what is suggested above.

West End. It is rather the inevitable consequence of the conditions of life that prevail there. Prostitution is a symptom: an outward and visible sign of a hidden moral disease induced by false habits and corrupt ideals of life. It is the pathetic but hideous "supply" of a corrupt "demand" coming for the most part—in West London at least—from men whose every ideal is impoverished, whose every habit is anti-social, and whose lives are vicious in their very uselessness. It cannot too often be insisted upon, that the effect—the logical, inevitable effect—of the idleness and extravagance of the West is entirely demoralising, and those who are concerned to discover the ultimate cause of the miserable, but pathetic, infamy of Piccadilly, should begin to look for it in the idle luxury and vicious irresponsibility of West End life.

CHAPTER VI.

PHILANTHROPIC AGENCIES: ECCLESIASTICAL AND GENERAL

In bringing to a close this analysis of the conditions of life—social, industrial, and moral—in a particular district, it may be well to state very briefly, first, what is being done; and, secondly, what remains to be done, to mitigate existing evils, and generally to improve the lot of the people. So far as ordinary Christian and other philanthropic agencies are concerned, the West End of London is, probably, at least as effectively served as any other district in the metropolis.

To begin with, there is a larger proportion of clergy and Christian workers in the district than is to be found in any other part of London. Taking the whole of the registration districts of the West, for example, (*i.e.*, Soho, St. George's, Hanover Square, Paddington, Kensington, Fulham, and Chelsea) there are no fewer than 1,713 *official* Christian workers of various orders, including the following:

	Males.	Females.	Total.
Clergymen (Church of England)	588	—	588
Roman Catholic Priests	133	—	133
Ministers of other Religious Bodies ...	114	—	114
Missionaries, Scripture Readers, Itinerant Preachers	157	239	396
Nuns, Sisters of Charity	—	482	482
	992	721	1,713

A proportion, that is to say, so far as West London is concerned, of one official Christian worker to every 432 persons; as compared with

1	to every	462	persons	in	North	London
1	„	„	520	„	„	Central	„
1	„	„	723	„	„	South	„
1	„	„	878	„	„	East	„

If, following the line of previous investigations, we confine ourselves to Soho, the condition of things in this respect is still satisfactory. It may be questioned indeed, whether any other industrial district in London is more adequately furnished in respect of ecclesiastical and general philanthropic arrangements than the area included within the parishes of St Anne, and St. Luke, Soho. The accommodation provided for public religious worship, is, it is true, not large,* but the parochial arrangements of the local clergy are remarkably thorough and comprehensive, while the district is further served by the various social and religious agencies of the West London Mission, which includes among its agencies a large trained nursing and general Sisterhood.

Moreover, the district is well furnished with general and non-ecclesiastical philanthropic agencies. The Charity Organization Society, for example, whatever may be its

* St. Anne's parish church provides accommodation for 920 persons, and that of St. Luke has accommodation for 700; while—if we except the West London Mission (a large and influential Nonconformist organization founded nine or ten years ago by the Revs. Hugh Price Hughes and Mark Guy Pearse) whose social and religious work is done very largely within the borders of these parishes—the provision made by the Nonconformist Churches is comparatively small.

The total population of the two parishes is 13,445.

popular defects, has for many years past done admirable work in Soho, and, with a larger staff of responsible volunteer workers, which the district itself cannot furnish, would probably be equal to all the ordinary charitable requirements of the district. Somewhat of this deficiency, however, may be met by the Association of "Friendly Workers Amongst the Poor" which has recently established a centre in Soho, and whose ideal at least—much as we question the wisdom of separate and independent organisation—is admirable.

But however satisfactory these things in themselves may be, it will be apparent from the analysis of facts already given that they barely touch the fringe of the grave problems—social, industrial, and moral—that exist in the district. To deal effectually with these, important and widespread reforms are needed, but to make these possible the public conscience (especially in the wealthy West End districts) must first be awakened to a solemn and deep-felt sense of responsibility. While, for example, at least forty per cent. of the people in Soho live under the most scandalous physical conditions, no less than 26,222 persons in West London are returned as "living on their own means," and 7,477 others as "retired from business;" and even these form but a small part of the wealthy unoccupied classes in this district. If these, or any considerable proportion of them, could be aroused to an intelligent and practical sympathy with the just and legitimate aspirations of the poor (as distinct from the unawakened ignorance that so often lurks in the very sympathy of those who watch the problem from afar), the day of the true social reformation would have dawned.

CHAPTER VII

THE PROBLEM OF REFORM

If we turn, however—as it may now be well to do—to a more detailed consideration of the reforms that are needed, certain obvious facts at once present themselves. In the first place, it cannot too strongly be urged that what is imperatively needed in the over-crowded and poverty-stricken districts of the West is not fresh charitable enterprise, but enthusiastic and intelligent personal service, working, for the most part, along the lines of existing agencies, but supplementing these, where necessary, by other careful and well-approved forms of social help. To multiply the number of more or less irresponsible dole-distributing agencies, or to provide a vent for earnest sympathy in the organization, on a large scale, of free meals, is simply to divert attention from radical facts to superficial ones. It is, indeed, to do more than this: it is to waste resources which, used along other lines, would at least point the way to effective reforms.

That philanthropy has often aggravated the evil it has sought to remedy is unquestionable, and it has done so largely because it has been ignorant and ill-devised, for help, however well-intentioned, that acts in ignorance

of the radical facts of distress can only intensify the disease it seeks to remove. To attend to the symptom and to neglect the cause is to inflict a cruel injury upon those we wish to relieve. There is great need that this should be remembered at the present time, and especially in presence of facts such as are disclosed in the foregoing chapters. We are, happily, experiencing a great re-action from the unimaginative spirit of forty or fifty years ago. Then there were few social enthusiasms; now life is over-run with them. But there is a danger lest this wave of imaginative and finely-sensitive emotionalism should betray us into hasty and ill-considered methods of help which can only give us results of a temporary and superficial kind. The most significant fact of modern times is undoubtedly what Mr. Kidd has recently called the "great fund of altruistic feeling which is gradually saturating our entire social life", but it would be interesting to enquire how far this fund of altruistic feeling has taken the forms of general, and, beyond a certain point, ineffective philanthropic enterprise, rather than led to an actual and important diminution of the severities of the life struggle. The important thing is always to guide altruistic feeling into its true channels, and, especially, to direct its energies toward the radical improvement of the conditions of life—the modification of causes rather than the temporary relief of symptoms. It is not clear that in the haste and eagerness with which philanthropic enterprises are nowadays too often undertaken, this is sufficiently recognized. The true significance of the modern fund of altruistic feeling is surely this, that it is the factor required to modify the effects of an otherwise disastrous law of competition. Short of fulfilling this radical function it may

easily become, what it often has been, a great and serious evil. This much, at least, must be insisted upon: that neither in West London nor elsewhere will the most strenuous efforts of an uninformed and unintelligent philanthropy avail to remove, or modify, the painful facts that darken social life. Philanthropy is a science, and the highest of all the sciences, inasmuch as it touches most intimately the facts of moral, as well as of physical, life, and while its methods can never, perhaps, have the precision which belongs to those of an exact science, they demand, equally with the methods of other sciences, all the forces of imagination, patience, faith, and knowledge.

To say this is by no means to suggest that such forms of philanthropic enterprise as are represented by ecclesiastical and other well-accredited charitable agencies should at once be stopped. That would be an entirely mistaken and inadequate conclusion. The true conclusion would seem to be this: that the relief should be administered, or at least directed, by those who are intelligently acquainted with the social and economic aspects of the question, and that the facts of distress should be used to swell those forces of moral indignation in which the worker's hope ultimately lies. It cannot too often be remembered in this connection that we are only just awaking out of the pessimistic fatalism by which Malthus, arguing upon utterly insufficient data, bound the minds of his contemporaries and followers, and that its effects are still largely with us. The "natural" laws of Malthus, and the biological laws of Darwin, gave, or seemed to give, a scientific sanction to the harshest demands of competitive industrialism. Now, however, there are unmistakable signs of the inevitable re-action, which, once established, will

considerably limit, though it can never wholly destroy, the work of the ordinary philanthropist. That there will always remain occasions for the exercise of philanthropy is certain, but it must not be called upon to fritter away its resources in buttressing up social and economic abuses. If it be asked what are the true and proper occasions for the exercise of voluntary philanthropy the answer is clear: they are to be found in the relief of exceptional and temporary distress or—in some cases—permanent physical unfitness; in short, in meeting those familiar and obvious conditions of need which can never be met by economic reform. It is possible, indeed, to go further, and to agree, fully and frankly, that in the industrial districts of West London where, as I have shown, the conditions of life are in some important respects entirely exceptional, well-equipped and wisely-directed voluntary agencies, and especially religious agencies, are absolutely indispensable, inasmuch as they are qualified to give attention, as no municipal or state agency can, to the moral causes which often underlie the physical facts of distress, and thus are able to supplement the necessary material help by those forces of sympathy and moral helpfulness without which it is impossible to secure the greater and permanent result. But, as I have already pointed out, and as I would repeat with all possible emphasis, the number of charitable agencies in the districts referred to is already fully sufficient to meet existing needs. All that is necessary in this direction is that the present agencies should be more adequately furnished with trained and properly qualified voluntary workers for whom, everywhere in the district, there is a most urgent need.

It has been necessary to deal at some length with this point

because it is one which, apparently, most readily suggests itself to the public mind in any discussion of problems such as are dealt with in this enquiry, and, furthermore, because it is one that at present is often most unfortunately, and even mischievously, misconceived. The true and necessary methods of reform, however, in West London as elsewhere, certainly do not lie in that direction, but rather along the lines of sanitary and industrial improvements. If, for example, one half of the large sums that are annually spent in free meals and other charitable doles to the by no means most deserving classes, could be devoted for a few years, first, to thorough and expert investigation of the actual conditions under which the people in particular districts work and live; secondly, to the collection of reliable evidence concerning the weak points in the working of our administrative machinery; and, thirdly, to the organization of efficient vigilance work (such, for example, as that already carried on in sanitary matters by the Mansion House Council on the Dwellings of the Poor), that would aim at the rigorous enforcement of powers already conferred upon local and other authorities, a greater step would have been taken in the direction of social progress than any that our various forms of ordinary philanthropic enterprise have yet achieved.

I by no means am of opinion that existing powers and arrangements are sufficient to meet existing needs. I am too well aware that our Public Health Acts, Factory Acts, Building Acts, Truck Acts, etc., are either stultified at the outset by unfortunate concessions and loop-holes, or made ineffective by the utter inadequacy of our administrative arrangements; but, despite this, very much more might be accomplished through the agency of existing Acts than is generally supposed. It is indeed, un-

questionable that what is imperatively needed for the removal of many of the most serious of our social evils is not new legislative proposals, but an enlightened public opinion that will strengthen the hands of the local authorities and prepare the way for more adequate administrative arrangements. Hitherto the seriousness of the social situation has been that local opinion has never fully responded to legislative proposals, and in this fact probably, lies the true explanation of existing social evils. Take, for example, the history of legislation on the housing question, which furnishes, perhaps, the most remarkable illustration of what I refer to. As far back as 1851 the Labouring Classes Lodging Houses Act conferred upon local authorities the power to borrow money on the mortgage of the rates, and apply it to the erection of lodging-houses for the working classes. No one who studies the question can doubt that the confidence which Lord Shaftesbury reposed in that Act was well-grounded, and that had it been freely adopted by local authorities it would have remedied the greater part of the evils now existing. But as a matter of simple history we find a Royal Commission, nearly forty years later, reporting that so far as regards local authorities the Act had been "an absolute dead letter"; one authoritative witness (Mr. Owen, the Permanent Secretary of the Local Government Board) going so far as to say that he did not know of a single case of its having been adopted in any place, nor even of any effort on the part of philanthropic persons to get it adopted. Nothing, indeed, could better illustrate the characteristic defect in our social arrangements than the conclusion reached by the Royal Commissioners at the very outset of their enquiry into the evils of overcrowding in 1884;

namely, that while 'there was much legislation designed to meet these evils, yet that the existing laws were not put into force, some of them having remained a dead letter from the date when they first found place in the statute book'. That the municipal conscience has been quickened in this respect since the publication of that Report is undoubted, but probably not even the least progressive person would allege that our efforts in this direction have been, or are, at all proportionate to the gravity of the need.

Let me give another illustration. The Public Health (London) Act of 1891 contains a number of admirable provisions which, if they could only be systematically enforced, would unquestionably do much to diminish the evils complained of.

It provides, for example, among other things, (1) That any house, or part of a house, so overcrowded as to be injurious or dangerous to the health of the inmates, whether or not members of the same family, shall be a nuisance liable to be dealt with summarily. (2) That where two convictions for offences relating to the overcrowding of a house, or part of a house, have taken place within a period of three months (whether the persons convicted were or were not the same) a closing order may be obtained. (3) That any factory, workshop, or workplace which is not a factory subject to the provisions of the Factory and Workshop Act (and the 'domestic' workshops of Soho and the neighbouring parishes are not so subject) may also be dealt with summarily as a nuisance if (α) it is not kept in a cleanly state and free from effluvia arising from a drain, closet, etc., or (β), is not properly ventilated, or (γ) is so overcrowded while work is carried on as to be injurious

or dangerous to the health of those employed therein. The Act further provides that information of a nuisance liable to be dealt with summarily may be given to the sanitary authority by *any person*.

Now it will be obvious that if these and other equally admirable provisions could be properly enforced, a considerable proportion of the evils dealt with in this volume would at once be removed. To suggest, however (what, indeed, can hardly be controverted), that hitherto the provisions of the Act have not been sufficiently enforced is not, necessarily, to reflect upon the earnestness or zeal of the local sanitary authorities. It is simply to arouse attention to matters of fact which may be, and often are, quite beyond the control of the officers concerned. No one, for example, who considers the figures given in a previous chapter * can escape the conclusion that, not in one district only, but throughout London, it is physically impossible for the present staff of inspectors to meet at all efficiently the actual requirements of the work, and until more satisfactory arrangements can be made for sanitary inspection it is difficult to see how the necessary reforms can be achieved. That somewhat of this deficiency might be met by expert voluntary workers acting in friendly co-operation with the sanitary officials is, I think, certain, and it is a form of social service which might well appeal to members of the wealthy leisured classes. To come to definite proposals, I would suggest the formation in every overcrowded district of a small but thoroughly influential and expert "Watch" committee that should strengthen the hands of the local authorities, (1) By collecting reliable and well-authenticated information concerning evasions and in-

* See pp. 53—4.

fringements of existing Acts; (2) By stimulating and developing a healthy public opinion on all questions of sanitary reform; (3) By spreading useful information concerning existing powers, especially in reference to clearance and improvement schemes; and (4) By occasional conferences of local philanthropic workers, district-visitors, etc., whose opportunities for collecting reliable information on sanitary matters, especially, are quite exceptional, and whose help might therefore easily become invaluable. If such a committee could be established its work would probably do much to remedy the present serious defects in our social arrangements.

It will, however, be clear to all who have studied the facts and figures given in the earlier chapters of this volume that the problem of overcrowding in Soho and the adjoining districts is primarily one of prohibitive rents, and that unless something can be done to modify these there is small chance of substantial improvement. It is important, therefore, to consider at once how far, and in what ways, this rent problem can be dealt with. To begin with, it is necessary to keep carefully in view the chief causes of the present excessive rents. Foremost among these must, of course, be put the enormous increase in ground values brought about by local improvements and, especially, by that displacement of dwelling-houses by large business premises to which I have already referred. Next in importance, probably, must be reckoned certain changes in the tailoring trade which have resulted from the immigration of the Jews, whose successful demand for tenement work-rooms has given an arbitrary and altogether exorbitant value to tenements in the district. While, thirdly, and lastly, must be mentioned the large number of 'disorderly houses'

whose iniquitous profits allow their occupiers to pay quite easily what otherwise would be prohibitive rents, and which therefore at once become extremely important factors in the artificial increase of rents.

The first of these causes is obviously the most difficult to meet. It is closely related to questions which are extremely intricate and concerning which public opinion is, at best, only in process of education. It would therefore be unwise in an enquiry such as the present, which aims at immediately practicable reforms, to attempt to discuss it at length. Apart altogether, however, from those aspects of the question which are open to dispute, it may well be questioned whether even under existing conditions much could not be done to improve matters—as indeed has already been suggested *—by the erection, either by the London County Council, or private philanthropic enterprise, of well-equipped blocks of 'model' dwellings which could be let out in small tenements at moderate but remunerative rents? Certainly, so far as these districts are concerned, the best possibilities of such experiments have never been put to the test, and until they have been the problem even of ground values cannot be said to be insoluble.

So far as the second of the three causes referred to above is concerned the issue is at once simpler and clearer. It turns entirely upon a question of industrial procedure. So long as we tolerate domestic, or tenement, workshops so long will rents in Soho continue to be excessive. The fault lies not at the door of the Jew, but rather with the system of out-work which makes it profitable for him to pay even the most wildly exorbitant rents for his tenement-workroom.

* See pp. 55—6.

In the case of the third factor referred to, namely, that represented by "disorderly houses", reform is not only possible but comparatively easy. It lies, of course, in prompt and rigorous measures of suppression. It is, I know (to deal for a moment with the moral side of the question), a plausible objection to say that such efforts simply result in driving the hideous traffic from one district into another, but it is surely a sufficient answer to this to say that the onus of responsibility for that result lies with the local authority that indifferently permits it. If every local authority in London would adopt similar measures of suppression the evil, as a whole, might be combated far more successfully than at present is possible. In any case, however, there is good ground for believing that, thanks in great measure to the recent efforts of the St. Anne's Vestry, the evil itself will henceforward be a constantly diminishing fact in the life of that part of Soho, and, it is to be hoped, in the neighbouring districts also, although there, it must be confessed, there is less apparent ground for hope.

The industrial problems disclosed in the second section of this volume necessarily open up questions of far-reaching importance and considerable complexity, which cannot be adequately discussed in a mere statement of urgent reforms. But no one, probably, who reads that section can fail to see how urgent a matter it is that reform should be sought in two directions; namely, first, in the abolition of out-work; and, secondly, in some modification of the evils of "season" trades. The importance of the first of these has already been sufficiently suggested, and I will not therefore discuss it further, except, indeed, to repeat that apart from it I see little hope of great improvement in the tailoring trades of the West.

The second reform referred to is much less simple, and requires for its discussion, not only considerable intellectual honesty, but also a high sense of moral responsibility. Hitherto in the discussion of this problem of "season" trades the public has adopted an entirely *non possumus* attitude. It has always assumed (not always, it is true, unsympathetically) that the fashion, the caprice, which, as I have shown, is largely (at least in West London) at the bottom of this question, is an inevitable and unalterable thing. But is it? Is is not, rather, true to say that "fashion" is a wholly capricious and artificial thing; often, indeed, a foolish tyranny which, once resolutely faced (especially morally, and from the point of view of the workers), would speedily be resisted? In this matter, as in others, what is urgently needed is an increased sense of moral responsibility, a more serious view of the social effects of hitherto unregarded conventions and habits.

In turning, finally, to the group of problems which are discussed in the third part of this volume it is probably not necessary to give more than a brief outline of the reforms that are needed. Among these I would include (1) a diminution in the number of public-houses; (2) effective supervision of all clubs, private "hotels", etc.; (3) rigorous suppression of "disorderly houses"; and (4) a resolute and determined attempt to deal with the evils of public prostitution. Hitherto the scandal in the principal thoroughfares of the West has been protected by real, if unofficial, social sanctions. How real those sanctions actually are may easily be seen by comparing the attitude of the police before, and after, 12.30 a.m.

But while urging these reforms it must be pointed out that they by no means meet all the necessities of the

case, nor can they, at the best, have other than a limited result. The true and ultimate methods of reform lie not along the negative lines of prohibition, but rather along the positive lines of intellectual and moral progress. What, therefore, is needed above all else in these districts is what I may call—using the term in its broadest sense—moral enlightenment; and this, it is obvious, can only be achieved by the highest forms of educational service. That several of the districts referred to in this investigation are already well served in respect of ordinary ecclesiastical and educational agencies, will be evident from what I have said in a previous chapter, nor are there wanting other voluntary agencies of an extremely useful kind. * But, it is needless to say, when all allowance is made for these, much still remains to be attempted (especially in districts such as that in the neighbourhood of Fitzroy Square) in the way of social and educational work. The clubs and drinking-saloons, for example, which at present exercise so vicious an influence upon the life of the community, undoubtedly appeal to what is a real need in these invertebrate and overcrowded districts, and every attempt to combat them will fail which stops short of the provision

* In this connection mention should certainly be made of (1) the Soho Club and Home for Working Girls in Greek Street, which was founded some seventeen years ago by the Hon. Maude Stanley (to whose long-continued devotion to the social needs of Soho too high a tribute cannot be paid), and which now possesses one hundred and thirty bonâ fide members; and (2) the West Central Jewish Girls' Club in Dean Street, Soho, which, starting in a small way some ten years ago under the sponsorship of Lady Battersea, has since been re-organized by Miss Lily Montagu, and now numbers over two hundred members. Both of these clubs are most admirably conducted, and the educational and moral value of their work cannot be exaggerated.

of well-equipped and well-conducted temperance clubs. Another deficiency in the social arrangements of the districts would also be met by the establishment of Social Institutes, "People's Drawing-rooms", etc., and also of additional recreative clubs for the young.

But how are these things to be effected? To that I would say that the ideal method, probably, in such districts as are here referred to is not that of the ordinary University Settlement, but rather an informal and unofficial grouping together in a district of properly qualified workers who, while free to live out their own lives and to follow the main lines of their personal interests as private individuals, would, nevertheless, be in sufficiently close and neighbourly contact with the people to be able to minister to them, as occasion arose, in the best and most needed forms of social service. The final appeal therefore, it will be evident, must be to that body of enlightened sympathy which, indifferent to class distinctions and traditional habits, is everywhere responding to the new social feeling which is the capital fact of our time. The deepest significance of that feeling undoubtedly lies in its approximation to a spiritual idea—a new human relationship—a union of all classes of society in a fellowship of mutual service.

That the reforms that are needed cannot be instantly effected will be evident to all who have dispassionately considered the question, and certainly there is no wish on the part of those who at present are working among the people to put forward hasty and ill-considered schemes. But that something can be done and, moreover, must be done to remedy existing evils has become a passionate conviction in the minds of all who know the facts. Happily, the *non possumus* attitude that hitherto has paralyzed

effort and hindered faith is everywhere breaking down before the idea—the passionate intuition and faith—of social progress, and with this will go the greatest barrier to reform. The end, it is true, is not yet, but nevertheless, if progress be, as Mazzini said, *the consciousness of progress*, it cannot be so impossible of attainment as we have hitherto allowed ourselves to believe. In any case, as against all apparently invincible arguments of philosophical pessimism the social worker may well put a steadfast belief in the undeveloped capacities of average human nature, and keep faith in the measureless power of new waves of moral and social enthusiasm, begotten, here and there, in a single soul, to conquer and transform systems, and nations, and worlds.

"I heard an angel singing
When the day was springing,
'Mercy, pity, and peace,
Are the world's release.'

So he sang all day
Over the new-mown hay,
Till the sun went down,
And haycocks looked brown.

I heard a devil curse
Over the heath and the furse:
'Mercy could be no more
If there were nobody poor,
And pity no more could be
If all were as happy as ye;
And mutual fear brings peace.
Misery's increase
Are mercy, pity, peace.'

At his curse the sun went down,
And the heavens gave a frown."

APPENDIX

I

I.—Table showing the **Number of Families per House** in (α) Soho, and (β) the rest of London.

Civil Parish.	Number of Inhabited Houses.	Total Number of Families, or Separate Occupiers.	Average Number of Families or Separate Occupiers per House.
St. Anne, Soho	938	2,987	3⅛
St. James, Westminster*...	2,592	5,938	2⅛
All London	548,315	941,693	1⅝

* Including St. Luke's, Berwick Street, Soho.

II.—Table showing the **Number of Families per House** in (α) Soho, and (β) the wealthy districts of the West.

Civil Parish.	Number of Inhabited Houses.	Total Number of Families, or Separate Occupiers.	Average Number of Families or Separate Occupiers per House.
St. Anne, Soho	938	2,987	3⅛
St. James, Westminster*...	2,592	5,938	2⅛
St. George's, Hanover Square	11,204	17,876	1⅝
Kensington	22,084	35,953	1⅝
Paddington	14,473	27,201	1⅞

* Including St. Luke's, Berwick Street, Soho.

III.—Table showing the **Number of Families per House** in (α) Soho, and (β) the most crowded districts in other parts of London.

Civil Parish.	Number of Inhabited Houses.	Total Number of Families, or Separate Occupiers.	Average Number of Families or Separate Occupiers per House.
St. Anne, Soho	938	2,987	$3\frac{1}{5}$
St. James, Westminster *	2,592	5,938	$2\frac{1}{5}$
Spitalfields	1,818	4,149	$2\frac{1}{5}$
St. Saviour's, Southwark ...	1,417	3,123	$2\frac{1}{5}$
Whitechapel	3,306	6,259	$1\frac{9}{10}$
St. George's-in-the-East ...	5,296	10,311	$1\frac{9}{10}$
Bethnal Green	16,542	27,998	$1\frac{4}{5}$
Bermondsey	11,152	19,033	$1\frac{8}{9}$

* Including St. Luke's, Berwick Street, Soho.

II

I.—Table showing the **Number of Houses per Acre** in (α) Soho, and (β) the rest of London.

Civil Parish.	Area in Statute Acres.	Total Number of Houses (Inhabited, Uninhabited and Building, 1891).	Average Number of Houses per Acre.
St. Anne, Soho	53	1,134	21.21
St. James, Westminster*...	163	3,221	20.0
All London	74,672	588,780	7.660

* Including St. Luke's, Berwick Street, Soho.

II.—Table showing the **Number of Houses per Acre** in (α) Soho, and (β) the wealthy districts of the West.

Civil Parish.	Area in Statute Acres.	Total Number of Houses.	Average Number of Houses per Acre.
St. Anne, Soho	53	1,134	21.21
St. James, Westminster*	163	3,221	20.0
St. George's, Hanover Square...	1,117	12,298	11.11
Kensington	2,188	23,937	10.205
Paddington	1,256	15,575	12.503
Hampstead	2,248	10,369	4.137

* Including St. Luke's, Berwick Street, Soho.

III.—Table showing the **Number of Houses per Acre** in (α) Soho, and (β) the most crowded districts in other parts of London.

Civil Parish.	Area in Statute Acres.	Total Number of Houses.	Average Number of Houses per Acre.
St. Anne, Soho	53	1,134	21.21
St. James, Westminster*	163	3,221	20.0
Spitalfields	73	1,936	26.38
St. George's-in-the-East	244	5,624	23.12
Bethnal Green	755	17,354	22.744
Whitechapel	170	3,896	22.156
Bermondsey	627	11,764	18.478
St. Saviour's Southwark,	127	1,696	13.45

* Including St. Luke's, Berwick Street, Soho.

III

I.—Table showing the **Number of Persons per Acre** in (α) Soho, and (β) the rest of London.

Civil Parish.	Area in Statute Acres.	Population.	Average Number of Persons per Acre.
St. Anne, Soho	53	12,317	232.21
St. James, Westminster *	163	24,995	153.56
All London	74,672	4,211,743	56.301

*Including St. Luke's, Berwick Street, Soho.

II.—Table showing the **Number of Persons per Acre** in (α) Soho, and (β) the wealthy districts of the West.

Civil Parish.	Area in Statute Acres.	Population.	Average Number of Persons per Acre.
St. Anne, Soho	53	12,317	232.21
St. James, Westminster *	163	24,995	153.56
St. George's, Hanover Square	1,117	78,364	70.174
Kensington	2,188	166,308	76.20
Paddington	1,256	117,846	93.103

*Including St. Luke's, Berwick Street, Soho.

IV

I.—Table showing the **Number of 1 Room Tenements** in (α) Soho, and (β) the whole of London.

	Total Tenements in Area.	Total Number of 1 Room Tenements.	Percentage of 1 Room Tenements.
Strand Sanitary Area * (including St. Anne, Soho)	6,006	1,854	30⅝
All London	937,607	172,502	18⅜

* The Civil Parish of St. Anne, Soho, which is included in the Strand Sanitary Area, furnishes one half of the population of the entire area.

II.—Table showing the **Number of 1 Room Tenements** in (α) Soho, (β) the wealthy districts of the West.

Sanitary Area.	Total Tenements in Area.	Total Number of 1 Room Tenements.	Percentage of 1 Room Tenements.
Strand (including St. Anne, Soho)	6,006	1,854	30⅝
Kensington	35,953	6,398	17⅘
Paddington	27,201	4,785	17⅝
St. George's, Hanover Square	17,876	2,998	16¾
Battersea	32,959	3,351	10

III.—Table showing the **Number of 1 Room Tenements** in (α) Soho, and (β) the most crowded districts in other parts of London.

Sanitary Area.	Total Tenements in Area.	Total Number of 1 Room Tenements.	Percentage of 1 Room Tenements.
Strand (including St. Anne, Soho)	6,006	1,854	30⅝
St. George's-in-the-East ...	10,311	3,837	37
St. Luke, City Road ...	9,847	3,536	35⅞
St. Giles-in-the-Fields ...	9,072	3,048	33½
St. Saviour's, Southwark...	6,295	2,091	33
St. Marylebone	34,940	11,296	32⅜
Holborn	8,047	2,593	32
Whitechapel	14,257	4,575	32
St. George-the-Martyr, Southwark	13,855	4,170	30
Clerkenwell	16,341	4,969	30
Shoreditch	28,818	8,373	29
St. Pancras	57,345	15,368	26⅘
Bethnal Green	27,998	6,561	23
St. James, Westminster*	5,938	1,323	22
Limehouse	12,425	2,567	20⅔
Bermondsey	19,033	3,543	18⅛

*The Sanitary Area of St. James, Westminster, is co-extensive with the Civil Parish of the same name, and includes the Ecclesiastical Parish of St. Luke, Berwick St., Soho.

V

I.—Table showing the **Number of Persons living in 1 Room Tenements** in (α) Soho, and (β) all London.

	Total Population of Area.	Total Number of Persons living in 1 Room Tenements.	Percentage of Persons living in 1 Room Tenements.
Strand Sanitary Area (including St. Anne, Soho)	25,122	4,538	18
All London...	4,211,743	386,489	9⅛

II.—Table showing the **Number of Persons living in 1 Room Tenements** in (α) Soho, and (β) the wealthy districts of the West.

Sanitary Area.	Total Population of Area.	Total Number of Persons living in 1 Room Tenements.	Percentage of Persons living in 1 Room Tenements.
Strand (including St. Anne, Soho)	25,122	4,538	18
Kensington	166,308	13,655	8
Paddington	117,846	9,676	8
St. George's, Hanover Square	78,364	5,355	7
Battersea	150,558	6,899	4½

III.—Table showing the **Number of Persons living in 1 Room Tenements** in (α) Soho, and (β) the most crowded districts in other parts of London.

Sanitary Area.	Total Population of Area.	Total Number of Persons living in 1 Room Tenements.	Percentage of Persons living in 1 Room Tenements.
Strand (including St. Anne, Soho)	25,122	4,538	18
St. George's-in-the-East.	45,795	10,127	22
St. Luke, City Road ...	42,440	9,244	21⅘
Holborn	33,485	6,770	20
St. Giles-in-the-Fields ...	39,782	7,652	19
Whitechapel	73,552	13,396	18
St. Saviour, Southwark	27,177	4,919	18
Marylebone	142,404	25,114	17⅔
Clerkenwell	66,216	11,668	17⅔
St. George-the-Martyr, Southwark	59,712	9,866	16½
Shoreditch	124,009	20,112	16
St. Pancras	234,379	34,298	14⅔
Bethnal Green	129,132	17,211	13⅓
St. James, Westminster	24,995	2,859	11½
Limehouse	57,376	6,321	11
Bermondsey	84,682	7,833	9¼

Tables showing the **Actual Conditions of Overcrowding** in (1
(3) certain selected districts in East

1. Lo

Number o

	2, and under 3, persons to a room.	3, and under 4, persons to a room.	4, and under 5, persons to a room.	5, and under 6, persons to a room.	6, and under 7, persons to a room.	7, and under 8, person to a room
London	762,417	298,994	114,714	43,443	17,934	6,153

2. West and We

Number o

Sanitary Area.	2, and under 3, persons to a room.	3, and under 4, persons to a room.	4, and under 5, persons to a room.	5, and under 6, persons to a room.	6, and under 7, persons to a room.	7, and under 8, person to a room
Strand (including St. Anne, Soho) ...	5,032	2,979	1,456	590	420	91
St. Giles-in-the-Fields	7,656	4,264	2,253	1,189	636	245
Marylebone	27,631	15,471	7,223	286	1,296	532
St. James	4,844	2,431	778	336	204	84
St. Pancras	39,174	18,040	8,085	3,810	1,668	553
Kensington	23,151	11,445	4,640	1,427	618	189
Paddington	17,715	7,660	3,028	1,031	318	70
St. George's, Hanover Square	10,023	3,185	1,104	311	78	42
	135,226	65,475	28,567	11,561	5,238	1,806

ondon as a whole, (2) the West and West Central districts; and outh, and Central London.

on.

ersons living:—

8, and under , persons a room.	9, and under 10, persons to a room.	10, and under 11, persons to a room.	11, and under 12, persons to a room.	12, or more persons to a room.	Total Number of Persons Overcrowded.	Percentage of Population.
1,848	648	270	110	84	1,246,615	29½

entral Districts.

ersons living:—

8, and under , persons a room.	9, and under 10, persons to a room.	10, and under 11, persons to a room.	11, and under 12, persons to a room.	12, or more persons to a room.	Total Number of Persons Overcrowded.	Percentage of Population.
40	9	—	—	—	10,617	42
88	27	10	22	12	16,402	41
72	36	—	—	—	55,128	39
16	—	—	—	—	8,693	35
208	36	10	—	—	71,584	31
40	9	—	—	—	41,519	25
24	9	—	11	—	29,866	25
—	—	—	—	—	14,743	19
488	126	20	33	12	248,552	32

3. Certain selected districts

Number

Sanitary Area.	2, and under 3, persons to a room.	3, and under 4, persons to a room.	4, and under 5, persons to a room.	5, and under 6, persons to a room.	6, and under 7, persons to a room.	7, and under 8, perso to a roo
St. Luke, City Road	12,120	7,670	3,035	1,236	600	322
St. George's-in-the-East	13,233	6,661	2,940	1,478	660	287
Whitechapel	16,775	12,113	6,061	2,677	1,392	658
Clerkenwell	18,335	10,928	4,247	1,334	600	168
Holborn	8,061	5,126	2,176	982	618	210
St. Saviour's, Southwark	7,558	3,402	1,416	540	216	42
St. George-the-Martyr, Southwark ...	17,107	7,642	3,116	1,075	348	126
Shoreditch	35,110	15,477	6,059	2,535	942	364
Bethnal Green ...	35,435	15,490	6,355	2,599	1,224	434
Limehouse	13,298	5,153	1,965	828	396	105
Bermondsey	21,146	6,793	2,016	696	168	35

ast, South, and Central London.

ersons living:—

, and under persons a room.	9, and under 10, persons to a room.	10, and under 11, persons to a room.	11, and under 12, persons to a room.	12, or more persons to a room.	Total Number of Persons Overcrowded.	Percentage of Population.
48	18	30	11	—	25,090	59
64	18	10	—	—	25,351	55
208	117	30	11	—	40,042	54
40	18	10	—	—	35,680	54
96	9	—	—	—	17,278	52
16	—	—	—	—	13,190	49
8	18	—	—	—	29,440	49
72	9	10	11	—	60,589	49
216	72	—	—	24	61,849	48
24	18	10	...	...	21,797	38
...	9	10	—	—	30,881	36

VII

LONGEVITY

I.—Table showing the **Number and Percentage of Persons of sixty years and upwards** in (α) Soho, and (β) all London.

Sanitary Area.	Total Number of Persons of sixty years and upwards.	Percentage of Population.
Strand (including St. Anne, Soho) ...	700 Males	5⅝
	788 Females	6¼
	1,488	5 7/16
All London	111,046 Males	5⅝
	158,762 Females	7⅐
	269,808	6⅝

II.—Table showing the **Number and Percentage of Persons of sixty years and upwards** in (α) Soho, and (β) the wealthy districts of the West.

Sanitary Area.	Total Number of Persons of sixty years and upwards.	Percentage of Population.
Strand (including St. Anne, Soho) ...	700 Males	5⅝
	788 Females	6¼
	1,488	5 7/16

St. George's, Hanover Square	2,667	Males	8
	3,845	Females	8½
	6,512		8¼
Kensington	4,577	Males	7
	7,523	Females	7½
	12,100		7¼

III.—Table showing the **Number and Percentage of Persons of sixty years and upwards** in (α) Soho, and (β) the most overcrowded districts in East, South, and Central London.

Sanitary Area.	Total Number of Persons of sixty years and upwards.		Percentage of Population.
Strand (including St. Anne, Soho) ...	700	Males	5⅜
	788	Females	6¼
	1,488		5$\frac{37}{40}$
St. George-the-Martyr, Southwark ...	1,454	Males	5
	1,712	Females	5⅔
	3,166		5⅓
St. Luke, City Road	1,019	Males	5
	1,410	Females	6½
	2,429		5¾
St. George's-in-the-East	1,312	Males	5⅜
	1,475	Females	6½
	2,787		6$\frac{1}{20}$
St. Saviour's, Southwark	1,039	Males	7⅕
	829	Females	6½
	1,868		6$\frac{17}{20}$

VIII

RATE OF MORTALITY (GENERAL)

I.—Table showing the **Rate of Mortality** in (α) Soho, and (β) all London.

Sanitary Area.	1885—93 Death-rate per 1000.*	1894 Death-rate per 1000.*
Strand (including St. Anne, Soho)	30.1	26.8
All London	21.4	18.6

II.—Table showing the **Rate of Mortality** in (α) Soho, and (β) the wealthy districts of the West.

Sanitary Area.	1885—93 Death-rate per 1000.*	1894 Death-rate per 1000.*
Strand (including St. Anne, Soho)	30.1	26.8
St. George's, Hanover Square ...	18.8	16.0
Paddington	18.3	16.3
Kensington	19.0	17.5
Hampstead	14.4	12.2

* In each case the 'corrected' and not the 'crude' death-rate is given.

III.—Table showing the **Rate of Mortality** in (α) Soho, and (β) the most crowded districts in other parts of London.

Sanitary Area.	1885—93 Death-rate per 1000.*	1894 Death-rate per 1000.*
Strand (including St. Anne, Soho)	30.1	26.8
St. George's-in-the-East	31.0	27.4
Limehouse	28.3	26.9
St. George-the-Martyr, Southwark	28.8	25.5
St. Luke, City Road	29.4	25.4
Whitechapel	24.9	23.1
Holborn	27.9	22.2
St. Giles-in-the-Fields	27.1	22.1
St. Saviour's, Southwark	27.1	22.0
Bermondsey	23.9	21.9
Clerkenwell	26.0	21.2
Bethnal Green	24.5	21.2
Shoreditch	24.2	20.7
St. Marylebone	22.8	20.7
Rotherhithe	22.7	19.7
Poplar	22.0	19.7
St. Pancras	22.3	19.6

* In each case the 'corrected' and not the 'crude' death-rate is given.

IX

INFANT MORTALITY

I.—Table showing the **Rate of Infant Mortality** (*i.e.*, children under one year of age) in (α) Soho, and (β) all London.

Sanitary Area.	Deaths under one year of age per 1000 births 1894.
Strand (including St. Anne, Soho)	179
All London...	143

II.—Table showing the **Rate of Infant Mortality** (*i.e.*, children under one year of age) in (α) Soho, and (β) the wealthy districts of the West.

Sanitary Area.	Deaths under one year of age per 1000 births 1894.
Strand (including St. Anne, Soho)	179
Hampstead	113
St. George's, Hanover Square	115
Chelsea	131
Paddington	137
Kensington *	173

* The figures for Kensington are remarkable, and are probably to be explained by special circumstances. It must not, however, be forgotten that 25% of the total population of Kensington live under crowded conditions.

III.—Table showing the **Rate of Infant Mortality** (*i.e.*, children under one year of age) in (α) Soho, and (β) the most crowded districts in other parts of London.

Sanitary Area.	Deaths under one year of age per 1000 births 1894.
Strand (including St. Anne, Soho)	179
St. George-the-Martyr, Southwark	186
St. George's-in-the-East	185
Holborn	180
Limehouse	174
Rotherhithe	161
Whitechapel	154
Bethnal Green	151
St. Saviour's, Southwark	145
Clerkenwell	145
St. Giles-in-the-Fields	132
St. Luke, City Road	123

X

Table showing the **Various Nationalities represented in the Foreign Population** of West London.

	Soho.	St. Giles.	St. Pancras.	St. Marylebone.
Russians	232	57	96	114
Poles	481	64	129	75
Swedes	127	18	75	79
Norwegians ...	9	4	15	20
Danes	26	13	109	45
Dutch	88	54	184	100
Belgians	174	80	223	154
French	901	348	1,255	1,065
Germans	1,070	654	2,216	1,602
Austrians	107	59	175	172
Hungarians	27	12	42	29
Swiss	258	81	388	300
Spaniards	29	20	41	38
Portuguese	4	2	5	16
Italians	652	211	308	233
Greeks	7	14	8	10
Servians	1		1	
Roumanians ...	4	3	8	2
Turks	9	17	18	32
Persians	2	3	2	6
Chinese		3	6	14
Other Asiatics ...		2	18	8
Africans	4	5	16	16
Americans	81	304	345	405
Not Stated	2		8	13
	4,295	2,028	5,691	4,548

XI

Table showing the **Nominal Occupations of 144 'Homeless Men'** who applied to the Soho Committee of the Charity Organisation Society in the six months ending March 1896.

1	Clergyman
1	Schoolmaster
1	Tutor
1	Actor
1	Singer
1	Architect
1	Journalist
1	'Pressman'
1	Rancher
4	Commercial Travellers
1	Fur Dealer
1	Photographer
1	Miniaturist
1	Engineer
1	Engineer's Fitter
14	Clerks
1	Publican
1	Brewers' Agent
2	Potmen
1	Grocer
2	Grocers' Assistants
1	Tea-planter
1	Draper
4	Drapers' Assistants
1	Printer
3	Compositors
1	Baker
1	Book-binder
1	Storekeeper
1	Upholsterer
4	Tailors
4	Painters
1	Grainer
1	House-decorator
1	Tool-maker
64	

64	
2	Iron-workers
1	Iron-driller
1	Wire-worker
1	Birdcage-maker
1	Brass-polisher
1	Plate „
1	Silver „
1	Fitter
1	Whipmaker
2	Ships' Stewards
1	„ Cook
3	Cooks
1	Kitchen-porter
1	Hotel „
3	Waiters
3	Carpenters
1	Box-maker
1	Crate-maker
1	Laundry-man
1	Gate-keeper
1	Gardener
1	Farm-labourer
1	Cattleman
1	Fireman
2	Carmen
2	Grooms
1	Stable-lad
7	Servants
3	Warehousemen
1	Dock-labourer
13	Porters
18	Labourers
1	Not stated
144	

XII

I.—Table showing the **Number and Distribution of Vagrants admitted to the casual Wards** of West, and West Central London (excluding Fulham and Chelsea) on the 1st of January in the years 1891—5. *

Date.	Kensington.	Paddington.	St. George's, Hanover Square.	Marylebone.	St. Pancras.	St. Giles and St. George, Bloomsbury.	Strand.	Holborn.	Total admitted.
Jan. 1st, 1891 ...	25	35	25	75	14	25	63	49	311
„ „ 1892 ...	41	33	30	80	26	16	58	50	334
„ „ 1893 ...	27	38	39	97	24	15	41	41	322
„ „ 1894 ...	48	59	47	87	39	48	85	70	483
„ „ 1895 ...	39	55	51	83	31	65	87	67	478

The remarkable increase in the last two years is noteworthy.

The above figures refer, it will be seen, to *winter* admissions only. It may be well, therefore, if I append a further return, showing the number of Vagrants admitted to the casual wards of the same Unions on the 1st of July in each of the years 1890—1894.

* Vagrants applying for relief in Soho are sent, by arrangement, to the casual wards of St. Giles, and St. George, Bloomsbury.

II.—Table showing the **Number and Distribution of Vagrants admitted to the casual Wards** of West, and West Central London (excluding Fulham and Chelsea) on the 1st of July in the years 1890—4.

Date.	Kensington.	Paddington.	St. George's, Hanover Square.	Marylebone.	St. Pancras.	St. Giles and St. George, Bloomsbury.	Strand.	Holborn.	Total admitted.
July 1st, 1890	16	53	45	70	24	19	70	44	341
„ „ 1891	36	34	47	77	17	13	54	41	319
„ „ 1892	41	21	30	63	37	9	70	39	310
„ „ 1893	44	48	54	39	32	12	60	65	354
„ „ 1894	18	30	49	76	Closed for Repairs.	26	66	44	309

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XIII

Table showing the **Earnings of Man and Wife** (with occasional additional assistance *) employed on thoroughly good work (coats) in West London.

Date. 1895.		Total weekly Earnings. £	s.	d.	Date. 1895.		Total weekly Earnings. £	s.	d.
April	13	3	17	10½	July	6	3	4	4½
„	20	3	14	6	„	13	2	18	10½
„	27				„	20	3	6	6
May	4	5	1	6	„	27	1	17	4½
„	11	5	—	6	August	3	3	12	7½
„	18	4	4	9	„	10	3	6	1½
„	25	4	19	4½	„	17	2	14	4½
June	1	4	19	1½	„	24	2	10	7½
„	8	4	9	1½	„	31	3	4	6
„	15	3	1	3	September	7	1	18	7½
„	22	—	5	1	„	14	3	2	6
„	29	4	8	4½	„	21	2	18	9

* From April 13th to June 22nd *three* people were generally employed and occasionally four—*viz.*: the man and his wife and two additional helpers (man and woman).

In other busy weeks also extra help would be required

Date.		Total weekly Earnings. £	s.	d.	Date.		Total weekly Earnings. £	s.	d.
1895.					1896.				
September	28	5	9	6	January	4	2	14	5½
October	5	2	3	1½	„	11	3	6	3
„	12	3	16	—	„	18	1	18	3
„	19	4	17	9	„	25	3	2	1½
„	26	3	4	9	February	1	4	18	7½
November	2	5	7	7½	„	8	2	3	4½
„	9	4	19	6	„	15	3	11	4½
„	16	4	4	1½	„	22	3	2	9
„	23	4	8	7½	„	29	2	12	8½
„	30	3	18	4½	March	7	2	5	1½
December	7	2	17	—	„	14	2	6	7½
„	14	2	14	11	„	21	3	2	4½
„	21	4	4	9	„	28	1	19	1½
„	28	2	7	7½	April	4	5	—	3
							175	13	9½

Average £3 7*s.* 6*d.* per week.

XIV

Table showing **Particulars of Membership, Fees, and Benefits** in connection with the Amalgamated Society of Journeymen Tailors.

Membership fees.		Benefits.
3*d.* per week	... ...	Strike or lock-out pay only.
5½*d.* „	„	All benefits except sick pay.*
8*d.* „	„ (if under 40 years of age).	All benefits.
9*d.* „	„ (between 40 and 45)†	„ „

* If over 45 years of age, however, when he joins the Society, he is not eligible for superannuation benefit.

† No member can be admitted for all benefits who is over 45 years of age

TABLE OF BENEFITS.

TRADE AND SICK.

For leaving employment satisfactory to Branch or Executive Council .... 10*s.*, 12*s.*, and 15*s.* per week as per rule.

Whilst on travel,* for 45 days in each year, 1*s.* 4*d.* in each Branch.

Sick Benefit—First 13 weeks ... ... 10*s.* per week.
„ Second 13 „ ... ... 8*s.* „
„ Third 13 „ ... ... 6*s.* „
„ Fourth 13 „ ... ... 4*s.* „
And 3*s.* 6*d.* per week as long as illness continues.

* I.E. in search of employment. No travelling relief, however, is given during the months of April, May, June, July, and November, except by special order of the Council.

SUPERANNUATION.

If a member 12 successive years.... 2*s.* 6*d.* per week for life.
„ 20 „ .... 5*s.* 0*d.* „ „

FUNERAL.

	£	*s.*	*d.*
Six months' member...	6	0	0
Twelve months' member	10	0	0
Members' wife	4	0	0
If member has buried his wife	6	0	0
If over 50 years of age when member entered	6	0	0
„ „ „ „ „ wife ...	2	0	0
If member has buried his wife	4	0	0

XV

Table showing **Particulars of Membership and Benefit Payments** of the West End branches of the Amalgamated Society of Journeymen Tailors in 1895.

Name of Branch.	Number of members.	Amount Paid to Members in Benefits in 1895.													
		Infectious Disease.			Sick Benefit.			Funeral Benefit.			Travelling Relief.			Superanu tion.	
		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.
West End ...	715	—	—	—	304	10	7	46	0	0	—	—	—	65	15
Dragon	536	—	—	—	372	11	10	84	8	6	1	14	4	209	17
Hand-in-Hand	120	—	—	—	133	11	9	68	0	0	—	17	0	—	—
Strand	29	1	5	0	36	12	10	20	0	0	—	—	—	10	15
International ...	49	—	—	—	2	0	0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Pioneer ... ... (Tailoresses)	18	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1,467*	1	5	0	849	7	0	218	8	6	2	11	4	286	7

*Out of a total (London) membership of 1,999. I have omitted from the list branches meeting in the extreme West, and South-west districts (*e.g.*, Chelsea, Westminster, Putney, Hammersmith, Bayswater and Lisson Grove).

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